DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 071 503 FL 003 648

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TITLE Aboriginal Languages of Western Queensland (Preliminary Version).
INSTITUTION Monash Univ., Clayton, Victoria (Australia).
PUB DATE 71
NOTE 89p.; In "Linguistic Communications 5 (Working Papers of the Linguistic Society of Australia)," p1-88, 1971

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS *Australian Aboriginal Languages; Comparative Analysis; *Contrastive Linguistics; Dialect Studies; Geographic Distribution; *Language Classification; Language Research; Language Typology; Maps; *Research Methodology; Statistical Analysis; Tables (Data); *Vocabulary; Word Lists

ABSTRACT

This document presents a classification of Western Queensland aboriginal languages based on a lexicostatistic methodology. Over 50 languages are considered and compared according to a cognate test list of 250 words. The resultant subgroups and groups are described and classified. An appendix includes the word list used for comparison and the terms found in each language. A second appendix presents a classification of the Janda languages. (VM)

From: Linguistic Communications: Working Papers of the Linguistic Society of Australia;
n5 p1-88 1971

ABORIGINAL LANGUAGES OF WESTERN QUEENSLAND
(Preliminary version)

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1. Introduction.

A preliminary lexicostatistical classification of the aboriginal languages of Australia was published in 1966 by O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin, and, in the form of a map, by O'Grady, Wurm and Hale. The present paper gives a reclassification of an area that, for brevity, is labelled "Western Queensland". In fact, the area covered is approximately that part of Queensland west and south of the main road through Cunnamulla, Charleville, Blackall, Barcaldine, Longreach, Winton, Cloncurry, Mt. Isa and Camooweal, together with the north-east corner of South Australia - the portion cut off by the Queensland-New South Wales and Queensland-Northern Territory borders if they are extended, westwards and southwards respectively, until they meet. In addition, the languages of some tribes whose territory lay mainly in the Northern Territory are included.

The work is based mainly on data obtained by the writer during field work carried out over the period 1967-70*, approximately twelve months in all being spent in the field. The work was financed by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies. All of the remaining linguistic informants in the area - in which all the languages are extinct or nearly extinct - were interviewed

* Since the text of this paper was written a fifth field trip has been made and further information obtained. Some consequent corrections have been made in the text, while others are given as footnotes.

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and almost all were recorded. Some known or potential informants in languages of this area were not seen because they live outside the area; however, these are all speakers of languages for which a large corpus has been obtained by the writer or others.

In addition, published word-lists and linguistic descriptions and unpublished material obtained by other linguists has been used. Of these linguists, the writer wishes to thank in particular Mrs. Luise Hercus and Mr. Barry Blake. He is grateful also to his many informants, 'blackfella', 'yellafella' and (rarely) 'whitefell ' for their help.

2. Method.

The method used for comparing languages was basically the lexicostatistic method described by Gudschinsky. A 250 word list was used (although one item in this list - 'white man' - is not suitable for comparative purposes). The number of items that could be compared ranged from 36 for the pair Galali/Pitjara to 235 for the pair Waluwara/Kalkatungu.* It is unfortunate that there is such a variation, but it appeared more profitable to use as many as possible of the available words than to use a list so short that it could be filled for nearly all the languages.

The method differed from that of Gudschinsky in the treatment of items for which, for any particular language, more than one word was given. Gudschinsky's method, in such cases, is to select one of the words at random. This is acceptable if the data is reasonably extensive and reliable

* Note that language names are not necessarily written phonemically, in order to avoid, as far as possible, the use of diacritics in the text. Old spellings of language names, such as Pitta-Pitta, are used if they are well known.

so that one can be fairly sure that the alternatives are genuine alternatives, i.e. approximately synonymous. This was not often so in the present case, and the method used varied according to the circumstances. In general, it was to count the item as 1/2 cognate, 1/2 non-cognate if one of the alternative items in one language was apparently cognate with the corresponding item (or one of the corresponding items) in the other. This would give an incorrectly high cognate count in cases where there were more than two genuine alternatives, but a low figure in cases where there was only one genuine word for the particular item, the other alternative being a mistake. It is felt that, in general, the positive and negative errors would approximately balance.

On the other hand, when comparing a language for which very little data is available with a well known language - for example, comparing Kunkalanja with Pitta-Pitta - it is more realistic to count similar cases as cognates. Nearly all of the words in the Kunkalanja corpus are matched by Pitta-Pitta cognates with the same meaning and normally identical in form. However, because of the wealth of data in Pitta-Pitta we have alternative forms, synonymous as far as we know, for some items. Thus, for 'stone' we have ṭipu in Kunkalanja, ṭipu and mirriwini in Pitta-Pitta. It seems very likely that mirriwini is not attested for Kunkalanja simply because the corpus is so small, and so we count this item as cognate.

Borrowings, of course, pose a problem that can never be completely solved. In this work, all counts have been made, in the first instance, without taking account of borrowing. If there is any doubt about the relationship between two languages, or if there seem to be a significant number of cases in which borrowing is involved, a recount

has been made allowing for these items. Many borrowings will remain undetected or unproven until proper comparative studies, in particular of phonology, are done; others will never be detected.

A related problem is that posed by the common use of certain wide-spread words in place of words which, according to informants, are more correct. Thus, Mrs. Maudie Naylon, a good informant in a number of languages, says that the Jelujendi say ŋapa for 'water', but their "real" word for it is katamala. Lanima informants say that their word for 'man' is not kaṇa but mua, but than proceed to use kaṇa in a sentence. The word kaṇa is a particularly good example; it is used as an alternative to palku in Pitta-Pitta, karu in Jandruwanta, matida in Ngamani, ngura in Wangkumara, to name only a few of the dialects concerned. It is impossible to know, at this stage of disintegration of the tribes, what other words belong to this category.

The choice of criteria for the various language groupings follows O'Grady et al (see also O'Grady and Klokeid); briefly, if two speech communities share more than 70% of cognate items in the vocabulary, they are dialects of a single language; if between 50 and 70% they are separate languages in the same sub-group; between 25 and 50%, sub-groups in the same group; between 15 and 25%, groups within a family; below 15%, different families. In a few cases account is taken of other factors; thus, although Waḻuwara and Bulanu appear to share only 48% cognates, they are classified in the same sub-group because of their morphological similarity. In another case, the Pama-Maric group is regarded as a different group from the Karnic languages, despite the fact that one pair - of the several contiguous pairs from these two groups - seems, at present, to have over 25% cognates in common; this is

the pair Marganj/ Badjiri (26%). All other figures along the long boundary between these two groups suggest that they are in fact separate groups, though closely related.

Naturally, some aspects of the classification must remain tentative simply because the study did not cover a wider area. Thus, for example, the pair of dialects Andegerebina and Jaroinga must, on the evidence availableto the writer, be classed as belonging to a different family than any other language included in this study. But it may be that these two dialects are at one end of a chain of languages which links them with, say, the Karnic group via other languages to the west and south. For similar reasons, the internal classification, as presented here, of that part of the Pama-Maric group included in this study must be regarded with reserve.

The 250 word list includes 47 verbs, 46 names of body parts, 24 fauna names, 23 geographical terms, 19 flora names, 16 items of human classification, 16 descriptive terms and 39 other words in a number of categories.

SOURCES OF DATA

The order in which the languages are discussed below is geographic, but is also governed by the linguistic groupings so that closely related dialects and languages are, as far as practicable, listed together. The list begins with the south-west corner of the area, then moves north and south again through the inner western languages, then east to the south-east corner, then north and northwest to the northern extremity and finally includes the languages of the western extremity.

In the following notes, the term "large corpus" refers to a corpus containing about ten hours or more recorded material giving a vocabulary of over 500 words; a "medium corpus" contains a few hours of recording and perhaps 200 or 300 words; a "small corpus" has less than two hours of recording and 100 words or less.

In general, reference is made only to material that has been used in this work; thus the existence of tapes and unpublished notes, to which the writer has not sought or obtained access, in the possession of such workers as S.A. Wurm, D. Trefry and B. Schebeck, is not specifically mentioned. Details of some of this material is given in the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies' Catalogues of Tape Archives (Nos. 1-7 have so far been issued).

1. Dieri. No attempt was made to obtain a full word-list in Dieri. A very small amount has been recorded by the writer from Bob and Maudie Naylon, of Birdsville, and a few words were extracted from a paper by Trefry (1970). A large quantity of material, both published and unpublished, is in existence.

2. Ngamani. A large corpus has been obtained from Bob and Maudie Naylon, of Birdsville, who, despite being native speakers of Wangganguru, are good informants in this otherwise extinct dialect. Curr (The Australian Race) has a word-list in "Ominee" supplied by W.V. Paull (Vol.II, pp18-21). This agrees fairly well with the recorded material, as does the short list given by Howitt (p 94 and p 646).

3. Karanguru. No linguistic material is available. Local informants seem to accept O'Grady et al's classification of the language.

4. Jelujendi. The writer has recorded a small corpus from the Naylons of Birdsville and Mrs. Clara Reece, formerly of Glengyle. Mrs. L. Hercus has some material on tape. The word list in a "Mulligan River Dialect" sent to Science of Man by W. Fraser also seems to be in Jelujendi.

5. Wangganguru. Most of the material used was made available by Mrs. L. Hercus. The writer has a small corpus from the Naylons, Mrs. Reece and Mrs Alice Lane, of Birdsville. Old sources have not been studied.

6. Talimana. [ṭaḷimaṇa] This name does not occur in the literature, but was given to the writer by Bill Gorringe, of Windorah, as the name of a language spoken about Dubbo Downs, on the lower Georgina.

7. Lanima. [ḷanima] B.J. Blake has a medium corpus from Mrs Norah Jacks, of Boulia, and Pilot Jack, of Cloncurry, and the writer has recorded a little from Mrs.Jacks. This seems - linguistically and geographically - to be the language referred to by Roth, Curr, W.G. Field and R.H. Mathews (1899) as Ulaolinya, Ulla-la-linya, U-la-linya and Yoolanlanya, respectively; Roth and Field have published word-lists. Howitt gives a few words in Wonkamala [waŋkamadla] which seems to be the Wangganguru name for this language (or possibly for Talimana). An alternative name used at the present time is Wangkamana [waŋkamaṇa], which is simply the Lanima version of [waŋkamadla].*

* Further information from Mrs Maudie Naylon suggests that Talimana is simply an alternative name for Wangkamana, which name is now preferred to Lanima. Mrs. Naylon also identifies Wangkamadla with Wangkamana. See Blake and Breen (1971; 122).

8. Wangka-jutjuru. [waŋkajutjuru] The writer has a large corpus from Mrs Ida Toby, of Mt. Isa and Camooweal, some from the late Jack Hanson, of Mt. Isa, and a little from Mrs. Linda Craigie, of Dajarra, and the late Arthur Melville, of Cloncurry. Word-lists were published by Roth ("Wonkajera") and a correspondent to Science of Man identified only as W.H.R. ("Wang Kahichs").

9. Pitta-Pitta. [piṯapiṯa] Blake and Breen have, between them, recorded a large corpus from Mrs. Norah Jacks, of Boulia. Roth published a grammar and a vocabulary of several hundred words. Curr (Vol.II, p 364-5) has a word-list in "Bitta-Bitta" supplied by E. Eglinton.

10. Ringa-Ringa. [ṛiŋaṛiŋa] Blake has a medium corpus, although its identification as Ringa-Ringa is not positive. The informant was Mrs. Linda Craigie, of Dajarra. Curr has a list from R.M. Collins (Vol.II, p 354-5) and,in "Ringa-Ringaroo", by A. McLean (Vol.II, p 358-9). Other lists ("Runga-Rungawah", J. Craigie, Vol. II, p 356-7 and an untitled list by W. Blair, Vol. II, p 352-3) may also be Ringa-Ringa. There is a short manuscript list by J. Lett. Curr locates the "Ringa-Ringaroo" between the Burke and Georgina Rivers, between latitudes 20° and 21° south; this is impossible as the Burke River does not extend as far north as 21° south.

11. Maiawali. [majawaḷi] Blake made a very brief recording with Mick and Lardie Moonlight, of Boulia, and Breen with Mrs Norah Jacks. The main sources are the old word-lists; one for "Miorli" in Roth, and others in Science of Man supplied by E. Lamb ("Myallee" and "Myalli") and H.S. and J.S. Dutton ("Mially").

12. Rakaia. [ɽakaja] No linguistic material. Accepted as a dialect name by O'Grady et al, following Tindale.

13. Ngulubulu. [ŋuḻubuḻu] Listed as Karanya by O'Grady et al, following Tindale, but this name is not known now. Tindale gave Ngulubulu as an alternative name, but Roth gave Karanya and Ooloopooloo as separate tribal names. A medium corpus was recorded by the writer from Bill Gorringe, of Windorah. Roth has a word-list for Karanya and Curr one for "Moorloobulloo" (Vol.II, pp366-9, from J.O. Machattie and J.S. Little.

14. Kunkalanja. Blake made a very brief recording with Mrs Jacks. W.G. Field supplied a word-list in "Koon-kalinga" to Science of Man.

15. Mitaka. The writer has recorded a medium corpus from Bill Gorringe, who prefers to call the language Marrula and gives Marrunada as another alternative name, and from Mrs Maudie Naylon, of Birdsville. A word-list in "Marunuda", supplied by D.M. Campbell, was published in Mathew's "Eagle-hawk and Crow".

16. Karuwali. Curr (Vol. II, p 371-3) has a word-list in the language spoken by the "Karawalla" and "Tunberri" tribes, and a word-list in "Currungulla" was sent to Science of Man by a correspondent identified only as W.H.W.

17. Marulta. This name is unknown to the writer's informants, and may really be the name given as an alternative name for Mitaka - Marrula. According to Bill Gorringe, of Windorah, Mitaka country extended as far east as Haddon Downs, and the Marula marked on Howitt's and Elkin's maps is obviously Marrula. Probably Gorringe is not quite correct, and Marula and Mitaka are dialects of a single language.

18. Jawarawarka. The writer has a medium corpus from Mrs Maudie Naylon of Birdsville, Hector Harrison of Molesworth, near Thargomindah, Alfie Harris of Pandie Pandie, S.A., and Willy Harris of Cluny. Curr (Vol. II, pp28-9) has a word-list in "Yowerawoolka" from W.H. Cornish, Howitt gives a few words of "Yaurorka" (p 95) and Science of Man has a word-list in "Yarrawurka" from C.C. Wimberley.

19. Jandruwanta. The writer has a large corpus from the late Mrs Tim Guttie, of Windorah, Bennie Kerwin, of Windorah, and Mrs Naylon - all good speakers. Howitt (p 93) has a little, and there are word-lists in Science of Man (anonymous, "Yandra Wandra") and Curr (the list supplied by H.G. Salmon, Vol. II, P 26-7 , seems to be Jandruwanta).

20. Biraliba. This name was given to J. Beckett, and Capell lists it as a dialect of Jandruwanta.

21. Balpamadramadra. This name was given to the writer by Mrs Guttie as the language spoken about Nappamerry. Other informants have confirmed this. This may be the same as the language "Dirityangura" shown by Howitt (map facing p 86). Howitt gave a word-list, untitled, supposedly for this area, to Curr (Vol. II, pp 30-31).

22. Ngurawola. There is no linguistic information. Mrs. Guttie and Bennie Kerwin know of Ngananina, spoken at Arrabury, and this may be the same.

23. Karendala. The only linguistic information seems to be a few words given in Howitt (p 96) for "Kurnandaburi".

24. Jarumarra. This was listed as Ngandangara by O'Grady et al. The name Jarumarra was used by George McDermott, of

Nockatunga, and Eromarra was given as an alternative name (mistakenly thought to be a place name) by Tindale.

25. Punthamara. The writer has a medium corpus from Mrs. Topsy Parker, of Quilpie and Windorah, the late Tiger Ray, of Ray station and Charlie McDonald of Bulloo Downs. Another informant, the late Frank Booth, of Enngonia, N.S.W., was regarded as not reliable because he was not a native speaker and because he learnt the language at Durham Downs, which is not Punthamara country. A word list supplied by A.L.P. Cameron was published in Science of Man.

26. Thiraila. This name was unknown to the writer's informants but was given to Beckett as Dira-iḻa. A word list in Curr (Vol. II, pp 34-5, supplied by T.W. Foott) may be in this language.

27. Mambangura. [mambaŋura] This name was given to the writer by George McDermott, of

Nockatunga. The late Charlie Phillips, of Bourke, gave Ngandangura as the name of the dialect spoken in this area. The name Mamwura, given by Beckett, is probably a mishearing of Mambangura. The word-list supplied to Curr by A.F. Sullivan and E. Eglinton (Vol. II, pp 32-3) may be in this language.

28. Wangkumara. [waŋkumara] Modern informants locate this tribe in the Nockatunga area, but Curr's correspondent F.W. Myles (Vol. II pp 36-41) places it at Thargomindah. Tindale states that "tribal disruption took some to Thargomindah where they mixed with uncircumsized Kalali." However, the reverse may be true; the the Wangkumara may have moved in the early days of settlement from Thargomindah to Nockatunga, and adopted the language of their new country. It is relevant - although hardly strong evidence - that there is a Wangamurra Creek rising near Thargomindah and running roughly parallel to, and east of, the Bulloo River. No serious attempt has been made to obtain evidence from historical documents on this and similar migrations.

The writer has a medium corpus in modern Wangkumara, informants being the late Charlie Phillips, of Bourke, Jack O'Lantern, of Weilmoringle, Cecil Ebbsworth, of Windorah, George McDermott and the late Mrs Alice Miller, of Nockatunga and Alf Teelow (a white man) of Cunnamulla. This material has been combined with that in Punthamara for the purpose of cognate counts - they have about 90% of vocabulary in common. Cunningham has written some notes on modern Wangkumara. The only source used for original Wangkumara is Myles' "Wonkomarra" word-list.

29. Pitjara. Called Bitharra by many early writers. Unknown to most informants today, but George McDermott knows the name; he also names Minkabari as another language of that area.

The only source of linguistic data seems to be A.F. Sullivan's list in Curr, (Vol. II, pp 42-3).

30. Galali. [gaḷali] The writer has a small corpus from the late Jimmy Galton and the late Jimmy Fuller, both of Cunnamulla. No attempt has been made to gain access to the considerable quantity of unpublished material in existence.

31. Badjiri. [badjiri] R.H. Mathews (1905) published a grammatical sketch and a vocabulary of three hundred or so words. Of several present day self-styled speakers of Badjiri, only one, Bob Toogler, of many addresses, really knows anything of the language, and a small corpus has been obtained by the writer.

32. Marganj. A large corpus has been obtained by the writer from Mrs Jessie Shillingworth, of Eulo.

33. Gunja. A medium corpus has been recorded by the writer from Mrs Margaret McKellar, of Cunnamulla. Several hours recording has been done with her son, Fred, but his language is mixed with some Marganj and possibly other dialects (he was brought up in a mixed community at Tinnenburra) and his material has not been used in this work. The word-lists supplied to Curr by W.R. Conn, L.M. Playfair and J. Hollingsworth (Vol. III, pp 270-285) may be in Gunja. There is some confusion here on the part of Curr; he refers to a wordlist from Mungalella Creek at one point as being supplied by Hollingsworth, and later, probably correctly, as being supplied by W.H. Looker. This list does not seem to be Gunja.

34. Wadjalang. This name does not seem to be known to present day informants. The writer has reservations about

language names based on the widespread Mari language-sub-group verb wadja, 'to go'. Such names include Tindale's Wadjalang, Wadjabangai and Wadja and some names given to the writer by informants: Uguwadja (= 'come here!'), Wadjami and Wadjigu. It is doubtful whether they are distinguishing names for dialects. When the main Bidjara informant (admittedly a senile old man who could not remember any names of neighbouring dialects) was asked if he knew the name Wadjalang he exclaimed "Yes, that's us!" However, in the absence of any other information, Tindale's names must be accepted. One Curr word-list could be for this dialect - that supplied by J. Ahern for the "Yangeberra Tribe" (Vol. III, pp 72-5); O'Grady et al, following Tindale, incorrectly thought this to be Kungkari (see 37) below. However, Howitt (map facing p 62) places the "Yankibura" near Aramac, which would be Iningai country.

35. Bidjara. The writer has a large corpus from John Frazer, of Charleville, Kruger Frazer, Frank and Billy Geebung and Harold Gadd, of Augathella, Hugh Gadd, of Mitchell and Wally Saunders, of Cunnamulla. Some Curr lists - those supplied by T.H. Hyde, H.C. Bell, T.W. Powell (("Tarawalla" dialect) and C.F. Dalhunty, (Vol. III, pp 78-87) - seem to be of this language.

36. Wadjabangai. One Curr list may be in this language; it was sent by J.C. Dudley and T.S.Williams (Vol. II., pp 76-7).

37. Iningai. The wordlist from J. Ahern published by Curr (Vol. III, pp 70-71) may be in Iningai, as may be the brief anonymous list in Science of Man in "Mootaburra".

38. Kungkari. [kuŋgaɾi] The writer has a medium corpus from Arthur Winkers of Belombre. There are some short lists

in Science of Man among the lists supplied by J.S. Dutton (1906) and by an anonymous contributor (1906). Curr's "Koongerri" word list, supplied by J.Heagney (Vol. II, pp 382-3) is somewhat different, but clearly a language of the same group.

39. Kungatutji. [kuŋadutji] This name, like Wangkumara, now refers to a different language and a different area than in Curr's day. His corresp ndent, J. Heagney, locates it between Kyabra Creek and the country of the Kungkari, while Tindale has it further west between Kyabra Creek and Cooper's Creek below Whitula Creek and Beckett has it much further to the south. Heagney's word-list (Vol. II, pp 374-81) appears to be a composite of two different dialects; this will be discussed further below. They are closely related to Kungkari and Birria. The extinct dialect referred to by modern informants as Kungatutji is almost identical to Punthamara and modern Wangkumara. The writer has a few words from the late Mrs Alice Miller, of Nockatunga, and has heard a longer recording made by B. Schebeck of the late Bob Parker, who called the language Kungkatutji.

40. Kulumali. This name is unknown to present day informants, who raised the possibility that it might really be Kulumani ([kuḻumaṇi]), the name of a corroboree. There is no linguistic material available.

41. Birria. The writer has a small corpus from the late Albert Uppity, of Keeroongooloo. Curr has a word-list (Vol. II, pp 384-5) supplied by his son, Edward Curr.

42. Goa. There are a number of published word-lists: E.C. Lamb (twice), J.S. Dutton (twice), J.C. Dutton and an

anonymous contributor (1912) have lists in Science of Man; Curr has lists contributed by Edward Curr and John Haines (Vol. III, pp 14-17 and Roth has a list.

43. Janda. The only source is E. Eglinton's list in Curr (Vol. II, pp 360-3). Roth believed this language was related to Pitta-Pitta.

44. Jalanga. [jalaṇṇa] Blake has a medium corpus from the late Mick Moonlight and Mrs Lardie Moonlight, of Boulia. His description of the language is in the press. The writer made a brief recording with Lardie Moonlight and Willy Sullivan, of Boulia.* Curr has a list, supplied by E. Eglinton in "Yelina" (Vol. II, pp 346-9).

45. Kalkatungu. [kalkatuṇu] Practically all the material was taken from Blake (1970). The writer has a medium corpus from the late Charlie Calwell, of Dajarra, the late Polly Wilson, of Mt. Isa, the late Mrs. Noby Clay, of Cloncurry, Mrs. Topsy Harry, of Camooweal, Willy Malcolm, of Calton Hills and Leichhardt Toby, of Camooweal. The old sources were not used.

46. Waluwara. [waḻuwara]. The writer has a large corpus; a thesis on this language has been completed. Informants are Mrs Ida Toby (Mt. Isa and Camooweal), Mrs Lily Clayton and George Age (Urandangie) and Fred Age(Dajarra). Blake has made a brief recording with Fred Age. K.L. Hale has done

* Breen has now obtained a medium corpus from Mrs Maudie Aden, of Dajarra, and further material from Mrs Moonlight. This material has yet to be analysed, but will lead to a reconsideration of some aspects of the Jalanga grammar published by Blake, in addition to making a much larger vocabulary available.

some work on this language with Fred Age and Roth and J.G. Edge (in Science of Man) have published word-lists. The Waluwara are referred to by speakers of some neighbouring languages as [waḷukana], hence the spellings of the name used by Roth and Curr (on his map). Tindale gives the name as Maule.

47. Pankara. [paṇkara] The writer has a very short word-list from Jack Wilde, of Dajaraa.

48. Kapula. This name is given by Waluwara informants as a dialect of that language.

49. Bulanu. [bulaṇu] A large corpus has been obtained by the writer from Didgeroo Jack, of Calton Hills, and Mrs. Ivy Monkhouse (Mt. Isa). Blake made a brief recording of the late Mrs. Dora Age, of Dajarra. A word-list contributed by E. Henderson to Presbyterian and Australian Witness in 1891 under the title "Vocabulary of the Injeelanjee" is almost identical to modern Bulanu, and comes from approximately the same area.

50. Dhidhani. This name is given by Bulanu and Waluwara informants as a dialect of Bulanu. In fact, it is suspected that the dialect of the main Bulanu informants might be actually Dhidhani, as they come from Dhidhani country and there are some differences between their speech and that of Mrs. Age, who was born in Bulanu country.

51. Indjilandji. Preferably Indjiladji. Modern informants*

* This should now read 'Most modern informants'. Willy Clegg, a reliable informant in Wagaja, regards Indjiladji as very similar to Bulanu, and Rosie, another Wagaja informant, may speak it. It was not possible to contact her in 1971.

regard it as identical or almost identical to Wagaja and locate it further north and west than Henderson's "Injeelanjee" (see 49). This may be another example of migration and adoption of the language of the new country.

The writer has made a brief recording in modern Indjilandji and Osborne has made some notes on it.

52. Wagaja. The writer has a large corpus, the informants being Mrs Mabel Karkadoo, of Dajarra, Didgeroo Jack (Calton Hills), Willy Clegg and Rosie (Alexandria, N.T.), Jimmy Larkins (Cluny), and the late Harry Sam (Camooweal). Several other linguists, in particular K.L. Hale, have material in the language.

53. Jaroinga. [jaṛuwiṇa] The writer has a small corpus from the late George Clayton (Urandangie) and Mrs Age. Blake also has recorded Mrs Age. Roth published a word-list.

54. Andegerebina. [andəkərəbiṇa] Blake has a medium corpus from Tiger George, of Boulia, while Breen has a large corpus from Tiger George, Jack Marshall, Bill Jenkin, Freddie Glenormiston and Joe Patterson, of Dajarra, the late Rosie Mahoney, Bob Cook and Island Jack of Urandangie and the late Jack Hanson (Mt. Isa). Hale has unpublished material and Roth published a word-list. Juranja is an alternative name for this dialect, used by tribes to the east, while Curr (on his map) calls it Willi-Willi.

Other Language Names. Palpakunu is a name used by Jandruwanta speakers to refer to the Wilson River group of dialects, i.e. Mambangura, modern Wangkumara and Kungatutji, Punthamara and others now extinct.

R.H. Mathews refers twice (1900 and 1904-5) to the Mullinchi tribe on Cooper's Creek, and also (1899) mentions Yanindo as the name of a tribe on or west of the Georgina River. O'Grady et al list the latter as an alternative name for Andegerebina. Mullinchi could possibly be Ngarawola (21 above).

Mrs Jim Guttie gave Jaramarala as the name of a language spoken at Baryulah (on Cooper's Creek, east of the Wilson River junction).

Roth lists a number of names that appear to be horde rather than linguistic names; these include Yunnalinka, Boinji, Dungadungara, Yunnateunnea, Tinka-Tinki, Rungo-Rungo (compare also Runga-Rungawah, above, under Ringa-Ringa, no. 11. The same name, [raŋwa], is given by Mrs. Toby), Kwokwa (given by Mrs. Toby as [kuwakuwa]), Weelka and Yuntauntaya. These are all in the middle Georgina - upper Mulligan area. Other horde names in this area mentioned by Mrs. Toby and George Age are Djidja-Djidja (given on Curr's map as Gigge) and Nambila-Nambila (probably speakers of Andegerebina). The late George Speechley (Urandangie) gave Jura as a language name for the Boulia area.

Capell lists Wonganja as located east of Waluwara, but probably extinct.

No attempt has been made to list all the various spellings of language names in the literature.

3. THE RESULTS.

The map shows the revised linguistic classification for the area of the study.* This will now be discussed in detail, with reference to the classification by O'Grady et al.

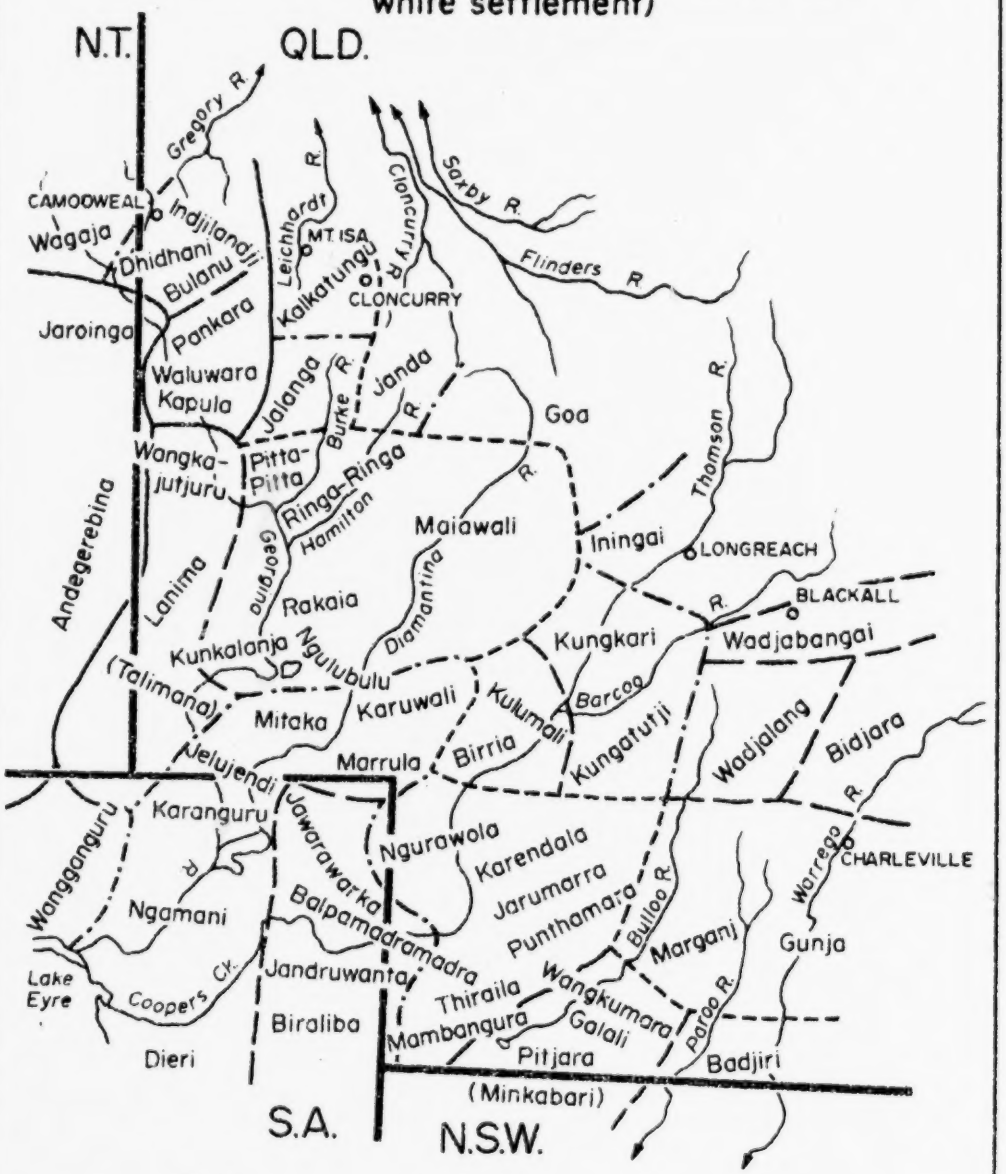
Where new names for language groupings are coined, the system used is the same as that used by O'Grady et al; sub-groups are named after a word for 'man' (normally the most widespread one in the sub-group) while groups are named after a prominent language in the group with a final -ic, or if the group is very big, after a word for 'man' modified in the same way. Thus we have the Karnic Group and the Karna Sub-Group both named after the widespread word [kaṇa], 'man'.

3.1 THE KARNIC GROUP.

This, comprising languages 1 to 30 above as well as some other languages in South Australia and New South Wales, includes the Arabanic, Dieric, Mi akudic and Pitta-Pittic Groups of O'Grady et al. The main error made by O'Grady et al here was to confuse Mitaka, a language spoken to the east and north-west of Birdsville, with Maithakudi, a language of the Cloncurry district and outside the scope of this report. Of the several alternative names they give for the language they locate in this area, one is Mittaka, which is Tindale's name for the tribe occup the area, and the others are (apart from a couple of spelling mistakes) the names Tindale gives for the Cloncurry language. Some other errors can be

* Note that, for simplicity, boundaries between the dialects of a language have been omitted. In general, the boundaries are as given by Tindale; these are more reliable than those on the O'Grady et al map.

ABORIGINAL LANGUAGES OF WESTERN QUEENSLAND
(located approximately as at the time of first white settlement)



o *Town*

Boundary between languages belonging to the same Sub-group

Boundary between languages belonging to different Sub-groups of the same group

Boundary between languages belonging to different groups of the same family

Boundary between languages belonging to different families

Boundaries between dialects of a language are not marked

attributed to lack of data, although this does not seem to justify some of the incorrect classifications in their Karna and Ngura Sub-Groups.

The Karnic Group comprises four subgroups: the Narla Sub-Group is the former Arabanic Group; the Palku Sub-Group is the former Pitta-Pittic Group; the Karna Sub-Group comprises the former Karna Sub-Group of Dieric, plus Mitaka, minus Bidia (Birria), Kungatutji, Kulumali and Karendala; the Ngura Sub-Group is the former Ngura Sub-Group plus Karendala.

3.1.1. THE NARLA SUB-GROUP.

The territory of only one member of the N arla sub-group, Wangganguru, intrudes onto the area covered by this word, and so no internal relationships are given. O'Grady et al listed Wongkamala as closely related to Wangganguru, but Wangganguru informants do not regard this as correct. The reasons for regarding Wongkamala as probably identical with Lanima will be discussed below.

3.1.2 THE KARNA SUB-GROUP.

The relationships between those members of this sub-group that come within the scope of this work are shown in Table 1. Unfortunately, ther: is no reliable information on Balpamadramadra; examination of Howitt's word-list in Curr, referred to above, suggests that it (the word-list) is probably Dieri. Comparison with languages to the south might throw further light on this, but for the time being Howitt's list is disregarded.

Table 1

Cognate Counts: Karna Sub-Group.

	Nga.	Jel.	Mit.	Kar.	Jaw.	Jan.
Dieri	73					56
Ngamani		74	46	31	51	49
Jelujendi			75	50	67	62
Mitaka				74	53	47
Jawarawarka					36	36
Jandruwanta						75

Morphological similarities between languages in this sub-group provide supporting evidence for this classification; in particular, they have in common the use of auxiliaries to form certain verbal tenses or aspects. Thus in Ngamani, the past tense is formed by means of a verbal form which seems to be best described as a gerund, plus the present tense form of the verb 'to throw', waraji.

ŋanji	ŋamana	waraji	'I sat down'.
maḍa	ŋati	warana waraji	'I threw a stone'.

Some other verbal forms are made up in a similar way.

Similarly, Mitaka forms its present tense with the gerund plus the stem form of the verb 'to sit', kuli.

ŋanji	kulinda	kuli	'I am sitting'.
ŋanji	tarkana	kuli	'I am standing'.

The only use Jandruwanta makes (to the knowledge of the writer) of such a form is in an alternative form of the future tense, using the present tense of the verb 'to do', ŋanaḷa.

ŋanji tawaŋa ŋanaḷa, or, ŋanji tawaŋa,
'I am going (to go)'.

In addition they share a phonological phenomenon unusual in Australian languages: a contrast between voiced and voiceless stops, probably confined to the apical stops (cf. Trefry, 1970).

The alterations made to the original Karna Sub-Group of O'Grady et al require justification. The cognate counts and

grammatical similarity of Mitaka to the other members of this group show that it must be included; especially since, because the possible influence of other languages made all the sources suspect to some extent, no words were included in the cognate counts unless they were given by at least two of the sources. Karendala is excluded because, assuming that its equation with Howitt's Kurnandaburi is correct, the few items of vocabulary available suggest that it belongs with the Wilson River dialects. Birria and Kungatutji are related to Kungkari in a sub-group of the Pama-Maric group, as will be shown below, and Kulumali probably also belongs to the same sub-group. Table 5 shows that Birria is only distantly related to the adjacent languages of the Karnic Group.

In all cases in which a comparison is possible, the writer's lists in these languages compares well with the early published word-lists. In particular, both the old and new data justify the grouping of Jandruwanta and Jawarawarka as dialects of the same language, and Dieri, Ngamani and Jelujendi as belonging to a different language.

3.1.3 THE PALKI SUB-GROUP.

Table 2 shows a clear division between two closely related languages; Lanima and Wangka-jutjuru are two dialects of the western language while the remaining dialects form the eastern language. The easternmost dialect, Maiawali, is slightly divergent, having borrowed a number of words from other neighbours. This division into two languages is supported by a comparison of the morphologies (cf. Blake and Breen, 1971). A well known feature (cf. Capell, 1956, p 56-9) that is shared by both languages and none of their neighbours is the marking of nouns and pronouns for future versus non-future time.

Table 2

Cognate Counts: Palku Sub-Group.

	R-R	Maia.	Ngu.	Kun.	Lan.	W-ju.
Pitta-Pitta	76	72	89	38	63	60
Ringa-Ringa		66	83	74	64	59
Maiawali			61	72	45	46
Ngulubulu				89	67	62
Kunkalanja					64	57
Lanima						84
Wangka-jutjuru						

The map differs from that of O'Grady et al for this area in three respects. The positions of the dialects Kunkalanja and Ringa-Ringa are interchanged; on this point they differ from Tindale who is certainly more correct. O'Grady et al include only Ulaolinja (Lanima) in the western language; however, the old word-lists as well as modern data show that Wangka-jutjuru ("Wonkajera" and "Wang-kahichs" in the old lists) should be grouped with Lanima.

The third difference is the identification of Wongkamala with Lanima. This is based partly on the name [waŋgamadla] being the Wangganguru form of the alternative name for Lanima, Wangkamana [waŋkamaɳa], used by speakers of the Palku languages and others, and partly on the single sentence in "Wonkamala" given by Howitt. This is: munukudu takatyi ngana tadyiri, and the Dieri equivalent is given as: munukudu ngaiani tayii. He translates it as "What do you eat?", but this is clearly not correct and in fact it must be the answer to this question. The Dieri sentence means "We are eating munukudu" (munukudu is given by Howitt as the name of a plant). The Lanima equivalent of this would be [munukuduɳa ŋana ʈatjiɻi]. The Wangganguru would be /munugudu ani ɖaɖɳinda/ if the plant name is the same). At present, no translation of takatyi can be suggested. Howitt gives a few other "Wonkamala" words, mostly names of fauna, which do not provide any worthwhile evidence - some correspond to Wangganguru, some to Dieri, some to Lanima, but a minority in each case.

A large part of the Ngulubulu vocabulary was not counted because the only modern informant, Bill Gorringe, was also a Mitaka informant, and his contributions were not accepted unless confirmed by early word-lists. However, the evidence

strongly suggests that he was almost always successful in keeping the two languages separate.

3.1.4 THE NGURA SUB-GROUP.

Table 3 shows that O'Grady et al were correct in dividing this sub-group into three languages, but that there were some errors in detail in the grouping of dialects. One language comprises Punthamara and the dialects represented by Curr word-lists that have been tentatively identified as Thiraila and Mambangura. The modern form of Wangkumara, which has not been included in the table, shares about 90% of its vocabulary with Punthamara and so belongs also to this language, which can, for convenience, be called the Wilson River language. Also clearly a member of this group - although no counts have been made - is the modern form of Kungatutji. For reasons mentioned above (3.1.2), Karendala also is included. Ngurawola is included, despite some hesitation, because it is included by O'Grady as the westernmost dialect of the Ngura Sub-Group. However, it may belong with Jandruwanta and Jawarawarka; Howitt placed it south of Sturt's Stony Desert, which is further west than Tindale and O'G put it.

The second language -- the Bulloo River Language - includes Galali, Wangkumara (as published by Curr) and the word-list that has been tentatively identified as Pitjara. Minkabari, if it really is a dialect name, would also belong to this group. The third language is Badjiri.

Table 3

Cognate Counts: Ngura Sub-Group.

	Thi.	Mam.	Wang.	Pitj.	Gal.	Badj.
Punthamara	84	83	44		59	34
Thiraila		76		43		
Mambangura				48		
Wangkumara				73	91	
Pitjara					86	
Galali						56
Badjiri						

Table 4

Cognate Counts: Karnic Group (between Sub-Groups)

	Wanggang-uru	Jelu-jendi	Mitaka	Karuwali	Puntamara
Jawarawarka		-	-	-	28
Jandruwanta	27	-	-	-	31
Balpamadramadra		-	-	-	32
Ngamani	41	-	-	-	
Jelujendi	40	-	-	-	
Mitaka		-	-	-	
Karuwali		-	-	-	25
Maiawali				27	
Ngulubulu		47	51	32	
Kungkalanja	31	44	38		
Pitta-Pitta	35	48	44	27	20
Lanima	36	48			
Wangka-jutjuru	36				19

The only dialects for which old and modern word-lists could be compared were Punthamara, for which the lists agreed very well, and Wangkumara, for which, of course, they did not agree.

3.1.5 RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SUB-GROUPS.

Cognate counts for neighbouring languages belonging to different sub-groups of the Karnic Group and, in a few cases, between languages which were not close neighbours, are given in Table 4. In all cases except one, the figures clearly suggest that the classification into sub-groups is as shown on the map. The exception is the pair Mitaka/Ngulubulu; further study will probably show that there are borrowings involved here, but for the present the differences in morphology are adduced to support the separation of the Karna and Palku Sub-Groups.

3.2 THE PAMA - MARIC GROUP.

Only the western and south-western portions of this large group are included in the area of this study and so some aspects of the classification are only tentative. However, this does not apply to the main amendment to O'Grady's Pama-Maric Group; the addition of a new sub-group, containing languages included by them in the Karna Sub-Group and the Mari Sub-Group and named after the Kungkari word for 'man', kapu. Another addition to the Pama-Maric Group is Janda, which seems to form a Sub-Group of this group rather than a separate group; however, the evidence in this case is much

less than one would like. A detailed comparison of Janda with some other languages is given in Appendix 2.

3.2.1 THE KAPU SUB-GROUP.

Curr grouped together three word-lists for this area - the upper Cooper and the lower Barcoo and Thomson Rivers - under the name Birria, Koongeri and Kungarditchi. However, on inspection, the last named list appeared to be a composite of two lists, alternatives being given for about a third of the items. Further study showed that in nearly every case where there was an alternative and where a comparison was possible, the first of the two words given was cognate with - and probably the same as - the corresponding Koongeri word and, a little less often, the corresponding Birria word, while the second word was cognate with the corresponding modern Kungkari word. This list was therefore treated as two lists, called Kungarditchi(1) and Kungarditchi(2). It was assumed, undoubtedly wrongly in some cases, that where only one word was given, Kungarditchi(1) and (2) were the same. Since the modern Birria list corresponds well with that published by Curr, there were five vocabularies to consider: Birria, Koongeri, the two Kungarditchis and Kungkari. The last named does not correspond closely in vocabulary to Curr's Koongeri, but is very similar to some very brief, unnamed lists for the same general area appearing in Science of Man.

Cognate counts for these five vocabularies are given in Table 5. Since the Curr vocabularies can be expected to contain errors which would usually result in lower than correct cognate percentages, it appears that we may have a dialect chain and only a single language. However, the Kungarditchi(1)/(2) percentage is probably inflated and

there may be a language boundary at this point. This supposition is supported by the morphological evidence, which, although very scanty, suggests that there is a difference between the pronoun systems used on either side of this boundary. Birria, Koongeri and Kungarditchi(1) appear to share the system used in the Mari Sub-Group in which the same pronoun form is used for the subject of a transitive or an intransitive verb; in the first person singular, for example, it is ŋaja̱wa, corresponding to ŋaja in the Mari languages. Kungarditchi(2) and Kungkari have an ergative pronoun system with - at least in the first and second person singular - one form as subject of a transitive verb and a different form as subject of an intransitive verb. The Kungkari first person singular forms are ŋaṯu and ŋaṉa, respectively. This system may have been borrowed from the Karnic Group - most likely from the Palku Sub-Group.

It was, therefore, decided to classify these dialects into two languages. The problem then arose of how to assign the dialect names. Birria was no problem, but Koongeri belongs to a different language than does its modern namesake Kungkari, while the two Kungarditchi vocabularies belong to different languages, both of which are quite different from modern Kungatutji. In addition there is the dialect name Kulumali, which Tindale locates in the area of Curr's Koongeri. Tindale probably has Kungkari country extending too far east because of his mistaken identification of Yangeeberra as (a horde of) Kungkari. It was finally decided to assign the name Kungkari to approximately the same area as Tindale, to classify Kungatutji as a dialect of the same language, and to classify Birria and Kulumali as dialects of one language. This solution is quite arbitrary, but its alternatives seem equally so.

Table 5

Cognate Counts: Kapu Sub-Group

	Koon.	Kung(1)	Kung(2)	Kungkari
Birria	74	61	44	42
"Koongeri"		84	64	51
"Kungarditchi"(1)			66	47
"Kungarditchi"(2)				66
Kungkari				

Table 6

Cognate Counts: Mari Sub-Group

	Gunja	Bidj	W'lang	W'bangai	Iningai
Marganj	79	58	43		
Gunja		62	44		
Bidjara			49	56	59
Wadjalang				60	49
Wadjabangai					54
Iningai					

3.2.2 THE MARI SUB-GROUP.

The cognate counts for those members of the Mari Sub-Group that come within the scope of this paper are given in Table 6. For reasons discussed above, no firm conclusions can be drawn from these figures (except that Marganj and Gunja are dialects of the same language), but the figures suggest that some of O'Grady et al's dialect boundaries are in fact language boundaries.

3.2.3 RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SUB-GROUPS.

The classification of the western Pama-Maric languages as shown on the map is supported by the evidence of the cognate counts given in Table 7. In the case of Goa, further comparisons with languages to the north and east are required.

The resemblance between Janda and the Palku languages noted by Roth is probably due to borrowings; among other items, Janda, like Kungkari, seems to have borrowed its pronouns from these languages. Janda has some interesting resemblances to Kungkari, but seems to be most closely related to its neighbour, Goa. (See Appendix 2.)

3.3 THE KALKATUNGIC GROUP.

O'G classified Kalkatungu and Jalanga each as a group containing only one language. The work of Blake (forthcoming) shows that these languages are closely related morphologically

Table 7

Cognate Counts: Pama-Maric Group (between Sub-Groups)

	Mar-ganj	Bidjara	W'lang	W'bangai	Iningai	Goa	Janda
Birria	23						
Kungkari	30	25	26	19	28	30	35
Goa		29	35	36	38	-	37
Janda		26				37	

Table 8

Cognate Counts: northern and north-western languages

	Tar.	Wag.	Bul.	Wal.	Kal.	Jal.	Janda	Goa
Andegerebina	80	11	4	10	3			
Jaroinga		10	6	8				
Wagaja			42	26				
Bulanu					6			
Waluwara					7	10	12	11
Kalkatungu						37	16	11
Jalanga							19	17

and are more closely related lexically than appears at first sight. The latter relationship is obscured by some extensive phonological changes. They clearly belong to the same group and are classified as sub-groups of the Kalkatungic Group.

3.4 THE WAKAYIC GROUP.

The cognate counts for Wagaja, Bulanu and Waluwara are shown in Table 8 . The morphologies of Bulanu and Waluwara are very similar, thus justifying their classification as a single sub-group, despite the fact that they share only 48% cognates.

No linguistic data are available on Kapula or Dhidhani. The writer has collected 24 words in Pankara, of which 22 are cognate (and 21 apparently identical) with Waluwara. In Indjiladji, Henderson's wordlist is almost identical to Bulanu.

3.5 THE ARANDIC GROUP.

Little can be said about the internal relationships of these languages, as only Andegerebina and Jaroinga, which share 80% cognates, come within the scope of the study.

3.6 RELATION SHIPS BETWEEN GROUPS.

Table 9 shows cognate counts for various languages in the Karnic Group with languages - usually neighbouring languages - in the Pama-Maric Group. Only the relationship between Badjiri and Marganj suggests that all these languages

Table 9

Cognate Counts: Karnic Group/Pama-Maric Group

	Mar-ganj	Gunja	Wadja-lang	Inin-gai	Kung-kari	Birria	Goa	Janda
Pitta-Pitta			9	10	21	21	13	12
Ringa-Ringa								13
Maiawali			12	17	20	23	21	12
Mitaka						14		
Karuwali						18		
Jawarawarka						18		
Puntha-mara	20	23			18	19		
Galali	21							
Badjiri	26	21						

Table 10

Cognate Counts: Karnic Group/northern and western neighbours

	Andegerebina	Wagaja	Waluwara	Kalka-tungu	Jalanga
Wangganguru	14				
Lanima	11				
Wangka-jutjuru	12	5	7	11	
Pitta-Pitta	11				17
Kunkalanja	7				

may form one large group, but the weight of the evidence favours their classification as two separate, but fairly closely related, groups. The figures in Table 10 show that the Karnic Group is much less closely related to the Arandic, Wa kayic and Kalkatungic Groups. Only in the case of the last does the evidence suggest that the groups belong to the same family. Similar figures were obtained for comparison of Pama-Maric and Kalkatungic languages; see Table 7. These two groups and the Karnic Group therefore must be accepted as belonging to O'G's Pama-Nyungan Family.

Andegerebina and Jaroinga show little evidence of relationship to languages outside their group (Tables 8 and 10) despite the fact that allowance was made for extensive phonological changes. A cursory examination suggested the following possible changes: dropping of initial consonant - thus Andegerebina ilaila is cognate with Wangka-jutjuru tjilatjila, 'boomerang'; dropping of initial syllable - thus Ande. buṛa may be cognate with Waluwara ṭupu, 'penis'; replacement of initial syllable by /a/ - thus Ande. aḷa may be cognate with Wangka-jutjuru miḷa, 'nose';

correspondence between a nasally released stop in Arandic languages and a nasal in languages to the east - thus Ande. atna cognate with Wangka-jutjuru kuna, 'faeces;

correspondence between initial nasal-stop cluster in Arandic and initial stop in languages to the east - thus Ande. ŋganja, Lanima kanja, 'sun';

correspondence between intervocalic glide in Arandic and intervocalic stop in other languages -- thus Arde. aɣəra, Wangka-jutjuru wakira, 'kangaroo';

correspondence between /wa/ in Arandic and /u/ in languages to the east - thus Ande. kwadje, Lanima kuṭa, 'water';

there may also be a rule regarding relationship between laminо-dentals and laminc-alveolars -- see the previous example.

Lack of the knowledge of the precise rules probably resulted in an over-liberal attitude, but even so all cognate counts between an Arandic and a non-Arandic languages gave results of under 15% cognate after probable borrowings had been allowed for. However, as mentioned above, we have no data on possible links between Arandic and Karnic languages via others to the west and south. On the basis only of the data used in this study, Andegerebina and Garoinga are shown on the map as not belonging to the same family as the other languages studied.

The figures in Tables 8 and 10 suggest that the Wakayic languages also belong to a different family than the other languages included in the study, and in this case there is much less likelihood that they are connected via other languages. In fact, the writer has noticed correspondences between the Wakayic languages and Janjula which suggest that these belong to the same family; O'G classifies Janjula as the only member of the Yanyulan Family. However, this is outside the scope of this work.

APPENDIX 1

Word-Lists.

To conserve space, not all word-lists have been included in this Appendix, and only 100 of the total of 250 words are included. These are the hundred words given by O'Grady and Klokeid, with the exception that 'put down' has been substituted for 'leave it'; the writer was not sure of the intended meaning of the latter. Some other items are not completely satisfactory for similar reasons, but have been left in.

All languages which are known only from old word-lists have been omitted. Jalanga has been omitted because, apart from fifty or so words given in Appendix 2, most of the words in the list are not known for it.* Most of the dialects of the Palku Sub-Group have been omitted because a detailed description of this sub-group by Blake and Breen has been published; only the best documented dialect of each of the two languages in the sub-group is included. Jaroinga also has been omitted because of its similarity to Andegerebina, and Galali, Jelujendi and Dieri because of the small quantity of data available.

In general, items are given in a broad phonetic notation, which often conforms to the presumed phonemic forms. Only in Kalkatungu, Waluwara, Wangganguru and, with a few exceptions, Pitta-Pitta and Wangka-jutjuru are the examples consistently written phonemically. There are undoubtedly a fair number of mistakes in transcription. Items known only from an old word-list are included in inverted commas, in the original spelling.

* This is no longer true; see footnote to p. 16.

The notation is normally IPA, with some exceptions. Retroflexed consonants are marked by a dot; thus ṭ, ḍ, ṇ, ḷ, ṛ. The diagraphs tj, dj, nj, lj represent lamino-alveolars. rr is trilled, r flapped and ṛ a glide. ɣ is a velar glide and ṛṛ a retroflexed fricative.

	man	woman	old man	name
Ngamani	kaṇa,matida	wi(d)la	karrkarru	taḷa
Wangganguru	kaṇa,juwu	bugu	matabuda	
Wangka-jutjuru	kaṇa,palku	warra	makara	malka
Pitta-Pitta	kaṇa,palku	paratja, waŋata	kupakupa	marka
Mitaka	kaṇa	panjdja	karru(ka)rru	
Jawarawarka	kaṇa,kaṛu	tjiwaṛa	karrukarru	maja
Jandruwanta	kaṇa,kaṛu	jiwa	karrukarru	tala
Punthamara	kaṇa	waḷka	karru	
Badjiri	kaṇa	waḷka, "gurukkara"	"dhulaia"	
Marganj	maḍi	wanjbira	gubabari	naṛi
Gunja	maḍi	wanjbira	gabaḷgabaḷ, gajarambaḷ	
Bidjara	maḍi	gambi, majara	maḍi gajara	
Kungkari	kapu	kuṇpiḷ		
Birria	karkurru	"muchmali"	karrukarru	
Kalkatungu	juru (agent:itii)	maṛapai	kupa	ipal
Waluwara	ṭawa	jarajana	puḷya, ŋunj	jini
Bulanu	ṭawaji	kirija, kiriŋulu	jaṛuku	jini
Wagaja	ŋaru	wənŋi,giri	bugaru	jinu
Andegerebina	aṭwa	arugudja	andinja	iḍṇaŋaji

	head	hair (of head)	forehead	eye
Ngamani	kuladiri	paṛa	ŋulu(danrra)	milki
Wangganguru	gaḍabu	wiṛi	maŋu	milgaḍi
Wangka-jutjuru	kaṭi	kuniṛi	pilpa	milaṭi
Pitta-Pitta	kaṭi	kuniṛi	pilpa,ŋuḷu	miji
Mitaka	kuŋku		pilpa	miḷki
Jawarawarka	ku(ŋ)ka	para, jamaṇi	ŋulu	mitji
Jandruwanta	ku(ŋ)ka	kuka kaḷi	ŋaṇḍa	mitji
Punthamara	kuka	kaŋkurra	tipinja	pulrru
Badjiri	giḷi	bunjtju, "girli-bukki"	"ngulu"	manju
Marganj	gaḍa	ḍuṛinj	milgan	ḍili
Gunja	baŋguṇ		baŋga	ḍili
Bidjara	ḍungu	gaḍa	balga	ḍili
Kungkari	pumpa	punjtju	palka	mi:l
Birria	pumpa	warrkaṛa		mi:l
Kalkatungu	kaṇṭa	warapu, warpanturu	muṇṭu	miḷṭi
Waluwara	kuṛukuṛu	walaŋaṇḍa	miṭi	ŋaŋa
Bulanu	kuṛuku	jiṛandali	miṭi, ṭanapa	nabuṇu
Wagaja	ḷaju	gula	ḷaju	mi:nŋu
Andegerebina	aka(buḍa)	akalta	uḷa	alkŋa

	nose	ear	mouth	tongue
Ngamani	mula	talpa	maṇa	tali
Wangganguru	miḍḷa	jari	maṇa	ḍaḷi
Wangka-jutjuru	miḷa	ŋarawa	ṭira	ṭali
Pitta-Pitta	milja	ŋara	paḷa	ṭaḷi
Mitaka	mula	ŋara	dira	taḷi
Jawarawarka	mula	talpa	maṇa	ṭaḷi, ṭ:nani
Jandruwanta	mula, kinta	talpa	maṇa	taṇani
Punthamara	muḷa	ŋarramunda	ṭaja	taḷaṇja
Badjiri	miṇṭi	"yuri"	ḍaṇa	ḍalaŋ
Marganj	gu:	maya	ḍa:	ḍalanj
Gunja	gu:	maṇa	ḍa:	ḍalanj
Bidjara	gu:	maṇa	ḍa:	ḍalanj
Kungkari	miŋku	maṇa	ṭaja	ṭalanj
Birria	"mingoo"	kurra	ṭaja	"talli"
Kalkatungu	itjinjtji, munjiri	iṇṭa	aṇṭa	mali
Waluwara	ŋutu	maŋkaru	ḷiṛa	ŋaṭala
Bulanu	ŋuru	pinali	mulu	ŋaṭali
Wageja	ŋuru	bina:l	ḍa:, ḷaṛa	ŋiṃḍal
Andegerebina	aḷa	iljṛa	aṛaguda	anjdjeṛu

	tooth	saliva	throat	nape	armpit
Ngamani	maṇadanrra	ŋaljtja	juṛku	wakara	kapuŕa
Wanggang-guru	jagara			wagaṛa	gidji-gidji
Wangka-jutjuru	milka	ŋaljtjana	ilka	marripiṇa	
Pitta-Pitta	miḷka	ŋaljtja	iḷka	maripiṇa	kilji-kilji
Mitaka	miḷka		iḷka,iḷku		
Jawara-warka	maṇadraku	ŋaljtja	ŋajimuli	puṇḍa	kapuru-kutja
Jandru-wanta	maṇa(d)raku	ŋaljtja	ŋajimala, ŋaga	puṇḍamitji	kapuru-kutja
Punthamara	ḍṛaja	ŋaljtja	warri	pankimuku	kampuṛ-itju
Badjiri	ḍija	"ngultya"	"wurri"	"burti"	
Marganj	iṭa	ŋalji	maṇu	uṭu	gabuḍ
Gunja	iṭa	ŋalji	maṇu	gurga	gaḅaḍ
Bidjara	jiṛa	njumba	gawa	gurga, buba wuku	gabaḍ
Kungkari	ṛiṛa		piṇki(?)		
Birria	"yerra"				
Kalkatungu	atiṇṭa	tjampat	pantut-pantut	kala(r)a	kitjipulu
Waluwara	kuṭana	ṭala	njiṛṛa	puṭu	kilji-kilji, kuwuru
Bulanu	kuṭani	nuḍu	waguwaḍa	putu	
Wagaja	guḍid	ṇu:ṇḍu	buluwulu	ḍindiŋu	bunan
Andegerebina	ndəga	paḷa	iṭa, aɣinjdja	kutamaḷa	ilgwa

	elbow	hand	fingernail	breast
Nɕamani	tintipiri	maɽa	maɽapiri	ŋama
Wangganguru	mambugaḍi	maɽa	maɽabiɽi, njirdji	ŋama
Wangka-jutjuru	juɽumuku	maɽa	miŋkara	kaputju
Pitta-Pitta	mampu	maɽa	ɳiri, maŋumaŋu, miŋkara	kaputju
Mitaka		maɽa	ɳirri	ŋama
J.awarawarka	tintipiri	maɽa	maɽapiri	ŋama
J andruwanta	tintipiri	maɽa	maɽapiri	ŋama
Punthamara	patikurru	maɽa	pikanja	ŋama
Badjiri	kupu	maɽa	bingunj	"ngumma"
Marganj	ḍuṭi	maɽa	bikanj	ŋamun
Gunja	gupu	maḍa	biŋgunj	ŋamuŋ
Bidjara	juḍu	maḍa	miɽu	ŋamun
Kunɕkari	ɳirimaɽi(?)	maɽa	pikanj	
Birria		maɽa		ŋama
Kalkatungu	wanji	makaṭi	minaŋara	mimi
Waluwara	majimilγa	markana	tjinaminjdjiri	ŋamanduru
Bulanu		muḍu	jiriwili	ŋamaduru
Wagaja	iljinbi	ɻa:bu	irwal	gunjəŋul
Andegerebina	milba,maga	iltja	ibuŋgunja, iŋgaɻṭəla	wuladja, ambuḍ-ambuḍa

	chest	heart	rib	stomach
Ngamani	muŋamiri	ŋaɻa	dimbiri	tunru
Wangganguru	ŋaɻara	ŋaɻaŋaɻa		ḍuṇḍu
Wangka-jutjuru	muŋa	wajiɻa		tjuṇṭu
Pitta-Pitta	muŋa		manu	ṭuṇṭu
Mitaka				wapu, tunru
Jawarawarka	muŋaɻalrra	ŋaɻa(ŋaɻa)	paŋki, di(m)parri	tunrru
Jandruwanta	muŋatita	tupuru	paŋkitiri, dipiri	tunrru
Punthamara	[illegible]u)	tuɻku	waɻpa	ŋajimala
Badjiri	"murna"			"minta"
Marganj	waŋga	ulgu	binbiri	baṭi
Gunja	wanga	juɻku	binbirri	baṭi
Bidjara	wanga		ili	banbu
Kungkari			ɾaɾanj	ŋajimala
Birria	purku			mirra
Kalkatungu	ŋamuna, wakita	januanti, utuntu kaṇṭa	ṭalpu	putu
Waluwara	ŋaɻuwarya	ɻiɻaṭa	pili	kunaputa
Bulanu			piliji	waḍulu
Wagaja	ŋiɻiwa	guduɻu	wunmuɾu	wudaɻ
Andegerebina	unuŋa	uḍabuḍa	ŋgəɾaɻa	adniḍa

	liver	urine	faeces	thigh
Ngamani	kalju	pura	kuna	taṛamuku
Wangganggguru		muḷḍu	gudna	ḍara,waḷi
Wangka-jutjuru			kuna	maḷa
Pitta-Pitta	kalu	pura	kuna	kala, maḷa
Mitaka	kalu	pura	kuna	
Jawarawarka	minja	pura	kudna	kulajara
Jandruwanta	kaldu	pura	kuna	wandikila
Punthamara	maljumiṇi	juṛa	kuna	ṭurka
Badjiri		"kurlpa"	"guna"	ḍara
Marganj				
Gunja	ḍiba			ḍara
Bidjara	ḍiba	ḍuḍaḍ	guna	ḍaṛa
Kungkari		kipara		muṭa
Birria		kipaṛa	kuṇa	"tarra"
Kalkatungu	utuntu	kulkai	unu	ŋuḷṭu
Waluwara	kamaṇḍili	matjuka	kuna	ṭatama
Bulanu	kamaḍili	matjuka	kudna	kuwani
Wagaja	miləmba	wawu	gunu	buḍugu
Andegerebina	aləma	mbwa	atna	iləbəṛa, aljbuldal-jbulda

	knee	foot	bone	blood
Ngamani	panjtja	tina	waṛpu	kumari
Wangganguru	banjdjaḍi	ḍidna	waḷbu	gubmari
Wangka-jutjuru	panjtja	ṭina	piṇa	kimpa
Pitta-Pitta	panjtja, puṇku	ṭina	piṇa	kimpa
Mitaka		tina	kambu	katjuka
Jawarawarka	panjtja	tina	muku	juŋguru
Jandruwanta	panjtja	tina	muku	juŋguru
Punthamara	punkulu	ṭina	muku	pantalja
Badjiri	mugu	ḍina	biṇa	guma
Marganj	mugu	ḍina	maka	guma
Gunja	mugu	ḍina	maka	guma
Bidjara	mugu	ḍina	jarun	guma
Kungkari	punkuḷ(?)	ṭina		
Birria	punkuṛ(?)	ṭina	kambu, "chiora"	"karuga"
Kalkatungu	(i)puru	ṭapantu	ŋkiki	uljtji
Waluwara	miṛimali	pamara	waṃmiri	wunduru
Bulanu	mijimali	jakiji	nukaṇi	wunduru
Wagaja	indjinŋu	djina	ṇunguḍ	bijal
Andegerebina	ambuṭa	jinka	ŋguṇa, aḷga, anjdjəlaṇa	irgŋa

	fat	skin	hungry	dog	tail
Ngamani	maṇi	daḷa	muwanu	tiritą	nura
Wangganggguru		baḍa	wadlara	mədla	undu, ŋurgundu
Wangka-jutjuru	ṭuṭa	paṭa	wanaṭa	kawaṛa, majamaja	kulka
Pitta-Pitta	ṭuṭa	ṇala	ŋamatjala	piawaḷi	kuṛka
Mitaka		ŋaḷa		pandi	kuṇi, kuḷka
Jawarawarka	maṇi	daḷa	mawali	pandi	kuḍṇi
Jandruwanta	maṇi	daḷa	mawali	pandi, tirita	duguru-guni
Punthamara	maṇi	ŋanjtjina		titi	kaḷi
Badjiri	"wurntu"	"yulain"	"burokara"	mirri	"birndu"
Marganj	ḍami	juṭal	gabiṛaaṇi	ŋura	biḍi
Gunja	ḍami	juḷanj	gabaṛaṇi	ŋuta	
Bidjara	ḍami	numan		ŋura(n)	mulburinj
Kungkari				kurṭa	
Birria	"tudda"			ṭiṭi	
Kalkatungu	kuntali	waku	jarikajan	ṭuku	kaaṇṭu
Waluwara	ṭiṇḍa	njiri	kanaṭaraa	warawuḷa	wunjdju-muru
Bulanu	lidjika	njiri	kanaṭari	waraji	wunjdji-muru
Wagaja	guŋu	məngad	mundjəṇirəḍi	wəra	wuḍirgu
Andegerebina	andiṛa	jinpa	uṇiṇgagwa	aṛéŋṣa	buṛa

	egg	snake	fly	tree	leaf
Ngamani	pampu	tipa	munjtju	piṭa	talpa
Wangganguru	babu	ḍiḍa, wama	ŋuriŋuri	djalba	balɑa
Wangka-jutjuru	papu	wama	muki	kuḷkuḷu	kuḷa
Pitta-Pitta	pampu	wama, kaṭi	kuninjtjiri	murra	walpa
Mitaka	pampu	kaṭikaṭi	naṇḍu	murra	
Jawarawarka	pampu	paḍi	munjtju	waṭi	
Jandruwanta	pampu	katikati	munjtju	wati	talpa
Punthamara	kapinja	muna	mukunjtja	makurra	wiḷaru
Badjiri	gabunj	"yutha"	"muguñ"	"wugga"	"dhirra"
Marganj	gabunj	ḍambal	ṇimuṇ	baga	ḍala
Gunja	gabunj	ḍambal	ṇimuṇ	baga	gargal
Bidjara	gabunj	munda	nimun	baga	ḍala
Kungkari	kukaṛi	kundaṛa(?)	nimuṇ	paka, tuḻuma	
Birria	kumaṛu, "kokarri"	"kadi"	muṇan	waka	ṭunjdjiri (?)
Kalkatungu	kuṭu	ṭuar, ṭuat	jumunturu	kunka	puliṇṭi
Waluwara	papu	ṭuwana	wanŋana	juɣu	wiḻwiḻi
Bulanu	wiṭpi	ṭuwani	jimuŋu	witpiri	wiliŋi
Wagaja	widbu	ŋu:ŋgu	jimuŋu	wuṛiru	wulirgu
Andegerebina	kwaḍa	apma	amәŋa	aṛula	lәrga(?)

	north	south	east	west
Ngamani		kunaŋkari	diḷiwa	
Wangganguru	dinaŋara	unaŋgari	ḏiradiwa	jandagara
Wangka-jutjuru	ṯinikara	karawali	ṯiriwa	jura
Pitta-Pitta	ṯinaŋara	wakara	ṯiriwa	juḷa
Mitaka				juḷa
Jawarawarka		wakarra muku		juḷa
Jandruwanta	kaṛawarra	mulabunrra	karriwali, witjigurra	dritjiwinrini
Punthamara				
Badjiri	galbu	"wurtulla"	"ngurraba"	ganan
Marganj	garbundu	guta:ndu	ŋarba:ndu	baṯa:ndu
Gunja	garbuŋundu			
Bidjara				
Kungkari				
Birria				
Kalkatungu		ṯiriwa		ṛuŋkari
Waluwara	juŋuṯa	kaara	ŋujinda	ŋaḷamaḷa
Bulanu	ŋuṯuṛa	kakara	ŋuḏiḏa	ŋaḷamaḷa
Wagaja	gəḷi:l	gəgəril	ŋuḏa:l	ŋəḷimil
Andegerebina	araina	aŋəragwa	ajirira	andəgəra

	sky	sun	moon	star
Ngamani	paṛiwilpa	ditji	piṛa	ditjidalra
Wanggangurru		muju	ṇalgaṇi	geḍibila
Wangka-jutjuru	jalkiṛa	wiḷuka	tjaṇi	puṭuṛuṇu
Pitta-Pitta	ṭikara	waḷka	jaṇi	tjinpi
Mitaka			njaṇi	
Jawarawarka	paḍḷa	dᵢji,mitji	paḍakanpa	diji
Jandruwanta	paṛiwilpa	driki	njaṇi	driki
Punthamara	ṇajirra	miḷa	mirkaṛinji	ditji
Badjiri	ṇajiridi	"yuku"	"pattyuka", gintjan	"burli"
Marganj	bandaḍa	ḍuṛu	gagaḍa	nijaḍu
Gunja	baṇḍaḷa	ḍuḍu, buanj	ḍilgaṇ	nijaḍu
Bᵢajara	bandaḍa	ḍuru, buwanj	gagaḍa	buḍu
Kungkari	piṭa	murri	ṇaljtji	kulaṛu
Birria		"murra"	ṇalaṭa	kulaṛu, "yichi"
Kalkatungu	manamana	wanaka, pinjtjamu	ṭuntal	tjirka
Waluwara	jawiṇi	pumaṭa	pilimuṇḍuṇu	majini
Bulanu	parapara	pumaṭa	paṇṇamaṭapa	madjini
Wagaja	junṇu	juwidju	ŋəga:l	djuwidjawu
Andegerebina	algiṛa	ŋganja	alganda	uṇḍa, ɑuralja

	wind	ground	stone	water
Ngamani	wamaṛa	walju	maḍa	ŋapa
Wangganguru	wabmaṛa	waḍlu	gaḍna	guḍa
Wangka-jutjuru	kaṛara	maji	puṛi	kuṭa
Pitta-Pitta	ṭurupu	maji	ṭipu, mirriwiṇi	ŋapu
Mitaka	tjimu	pala	maḍrra	ŋapa
Jawarawarka	ṭajirri	padla	maḍra (mitji)	ŋapa
Jandruwanta	wataṛa	padla	maḍra (mitji)	ŋapa
Punthamara	kukaṭari	taka	janrra	ŋaka
Badjiri	jaṭu	maṇṭi	bari	ŋapa
Marganj	jarga	ḍaka	barri	ɔamu
Gunja	jarga	ḍaṇḍi		ɡamu
Bidjara	jarga	ɳandi	baŋgu	gamu
Kungkari		ṭaṇa	kaṛanj	kaku
Birria	ṭarka		"parri"	kaku, ŋaka
Kalkatungu	unu(ŋ)kari	muu	ntia	kuu
Waluwara	ɳukara	miki	wata	wuku
Bulanu	wanŋani	migi	kanaṛi	ŋulibi
Wagaja	unu	mi:ŋgi	buɳŋu	jug(w)a
Andegerebina	iḷka	ɣuṇa	apuḍa	gwadja

	meat	food(veg.)	fire	ashes
Ngamani	ŋanitji	juta	turru	turpa, pulka
Wangganguru	gaḍi	muru	maga	buḍṇu
Wangka-jutjuru	kaṭi	ṇura	maka	puḷpa
Pitta-Pitta	kaṭi	jaṇṭuru, maṇṭa	maka	
Mitaka	kaṭi	maŋka	turru	
Jawarawarka	kaṭi	puka, muluru	maka	turpa
Jandruwanta	kati	puka, muḷuru	maka	turpa
Punthamara	ŋuṭi	kuŋa	wiji	turpa
Badjiri	ŋuṭi	"munnu"	wiji	
Marganj	juḍi	guŋu,bulu, maji	buḍi	buḍa(ḷ)
Gunja	juḍi	maṇḍa	buḍi	buḍa
Bidjara	juḍi	maṇḍa,ŋamanj, maji	buḍi	buḍa, buŋga
Kungkari	kaṭi	ṭakanj(a), maji	(j)uḷa	puṭa
Birria	kaṭi	kuŋa	watjiṉ	
Kalkatungu	ati	maa	utjan	ṭulŋun,wamu, pumpa
Waluwara	kaḷa	ŋaṭarwa	maṇala	ŋaḷupara
Bulamu	kaḷa	wadumuga	maṇali	kulitaŋu
Wagaja	gilja:ḷ	ŋəŋand	məṇa:l, ubugu	ṇanŋwi
Andegerebina	kaṛa	maṇa	wuṛa, gudji	jikundja

	smoke	spear	big	small
Ngamani	tupu	wanakuju	piṇa	walka
Wangganguru	ḍubu	gadji, birinibara	gadjiwiri, maḍiri	njarinjari
Wangka-jutjuru	kutu	jatjaṛa	kurruwina, wima	tjapu
Pitta-Pitta	kuṭu	ṇarawa	wima	ṭujuju
Mitaka	kutu	winrra	ṇaḍa	waga
Jawarawarka	tupu	winrra	pi(ḍ)ṇa	pulja
Jandruwanta	tupu	winrra	piṇa	pulja
Punthamara	ṭupu	kalju	piṇa	manjima, waṛiwa
Badjiri	buṇṭu	"yanggo, milla"	"murra"	"munyi"
Marganj	duŋunj	wamara	wanba	gapunj
Gunja	ḍumbinj		banjarri	djipu
Bidjara	ḍuga	ḍanjdja	wudjabaḍi	gaṛu, gaju
Kungkari	muju	kaṇa	walku	wiṇanj
Birria	ṭurrka	"kanni"	milja	wajiwija
Kalkatungu	pulu	juku	jaun	katja(kulu), katakulu
Waluwara	wuwalla	ṭajili	paṭa	ṭawiṛi, tjapukutu
Bulanu		muguṛa	jatpuka	ṭabukudu
Wagaja	ŋuduŋudu	muguṛa, wuṛambaŋu	bəḍi:b-	djabuɡulj
Ardegerebina	guḍa	iritjaḍa	ilgwa, agŋəṛidja	akilja

	long	short	rotten	black
Ngamani	pajiri	waḍu	tuŋka	maṛu
Wangganguru	barrabarra	baḷabaḷa		bilja
Wangka-jutjuru	tjuwari	waṭu	kutja	tjimpa
Pitta-Pitta	tjuwarri	maṇṭaṭi	kutja	piḷapiḷa, tjimpa
Mitaka	pajirri	waṭu	ṭuŋka	
Jawarawarka	pajiri		tuŋwa	tjimpa
Jandruwanta	pajiri	waṇṭa	kutawiri	impa
Punthamara	turupala	tumpa	tuŋka	murrumurru
Badjiri	"dhauaru"	"ngunta"		garagara
Marganj	gurgan	gupu	gatja	guru
Gunja	gurgan	gupu	gatja	guru
Bidjara	gurgan		gadja	miḍamiḍa
Kungkari			katja	maŋkiḷ
Birria			ṭuŋka	
Kalkatungu	ulkuuri	miraŋkula	mpuu	matjin
Waluwara	waḷaḷi	puṛṛa	waṛṛa	wanmani
Bulanu	paṭa		kalari	
Wagaja	ḍuḍaŋ-	ḷəbal	ṇu:ru	wuḍinŋ-
Ande cebina	alwundja	uṭidja	indəŋa	urpula

	one	two	many	this
Ngamani	ŋunara	parkuna	witla	naja
Wangganguru	ŋuju	bargulu	binja	
Wangka-jutjuru	kunjala	parkulu	parri	n̪aki
Pitta-Pitta	ŋuṟuṟu	parkula	parri	n̪uwaji
Mitaka		parkula	maṯu	
Jawarawarka	kuŋu	kuŋu	malkiri	
Jandruwanta	parkulu	pulpa, parkulu	malkiri	
Punthamara	watjuwaḷi	parkulu	waŋṟru	n̪ija
Badjiri	garitja	bulaŋa	"thuntalu, murulu"	"yukuna"
Marganj	wakanju	urra	d̪iwala	ini
Gunja	waŋgaṟa	buladi	banja	
Bidjara	waŋgaṟa	buladi	wudja, gada	
Kungkari		pulaṟi		
Birria	maṟina	parkula	"mirti"	
Kalkatungu	ajat	l̪uati	maḷṯa	tjaa
Waluwara	jarʏulu	kutja	ŋuḷpa	maṟa
Bulanu	jakulu	kutjija	ŋuḷpa	jamaṟa
Wagaja	jugunŋu	gidji:wi	wugija	jəmu
Andegerebina	anjinda	aṯəra	akŋira	n̪əna

	who?	what?	where?	far
Ngamani	waṛa/wali	mina	warata	warata
Wangganguru	wara		warana	
Wangka-jutjuru	waṛa	miṇa	ṭaṇa	purpu
Pitta-Pitta	waṛa	miṇa	wiṇṭa	wakaṛa
Mitaka	waṛa/walu		waḍa-	
Jawarawarka	waṛana	mina	ilaŋgi	
Jandruwanta	waṛana	mina	ilaŋgi	
Punthamara	waṛa-	miṇa	ŋala-	kampa
Badjiri	wara-	"minna"	"ngumbilla"	"kumbari"
Marganj	wandu	ŋani	wala-	
Gunja	waṇḍu-	ŋani	waṇḍa	
Bidjara	wuṇḍu, ŋuṇḍaṛa	ŋani	indija	
Kungkari	waṛa		ṭaltu-	
Birria	waṛaṇa			
Kalkatungu	ṇani	ṇaka	araka-	jarka
Wa ɪwara	ŋaṛa	ṇaŋaḷi	ṭaṛa	kajalla
Bulanu	ŋani	ṇaŋali	waṭa-	kajiwali
Wagaja	wiṇḍiŋa	ṇəŋaḷi	wiṇḍi	miŋgidjiḷ
Andegerebina	aŋuni	ilaga	ṭi-	aḷaŋa

	up	down,below	now,today	by and by
Ngamani	kuruŋka	kuɾa	kaɾi	kara ŋuɾumu
Wangganguru				
Wangka-jutjuru	jarukuṭi		panijara	waṇṭa
Pitta-Pitta	pirripa		kaɾi	kaṇa
Mitaka			kajiri	
Jawarawarka	kanrra	warkari	kajiri	miṇi
Jandruwanta	talka	paṇḍi	kajiridji	miṇi
Punthamara			paḷa	
Badjiri		"barrula"	"miuli,miyu"	"burrauira"
Marganj	guɾara		gajimba	mukiri
Gunja			baḍa:du	
Bidjara				
Kungkari			kajeli	
Birria				
Kalkatungu	juu	pia	ilja	maŋkaŋa
Waluwara	kaŋkaḷija	kaŋpaḷija	kalija	jandavu
Bulanu	kakaḷitja	kaḍitja	kalija	tjinala
Wagaja	gəŋgal	gənadj	gililand, gilija	məgədi
Andegerebina	aridjina	wunambinj	aɾundaɾmani, ljaḍa	aṇilanda, aliṇəlgə

	I	you(sing.)	stand	sit
Ngamani	ŋanji/ŋati	jini/jindi	tarka	ŋama
Wangganguru	aṇḍa/aḍu	unba/undu	ḍarga-	ḍaŋga-
Wangka-jutjuru	ŋinjtja/ŋaṭu	inpa/intu	ṭarka	ṇaŋka
Pitta-Pitta	ŋanjtja/ŋaṭu	inpa/intu	ṭarrka	ṇaŋka
Mitaka	ŋanji/ŋaṭu	jini/jundu	ṭarrka	kuli
Jawarawarka	ŋanji/ŋaṭu	ŋanji/ŋatu	ta(g)ŋu	nina
Jandruwanta	ŋanji/ŋaṭu	ini/junru	daŋgu	nina
Punthamara	ŋanji/ŋaṭu	jini/junrru	ṭina(pa)	kula
Badjiri	ŋanji/"ngutttha"	"yinni/yuntu"	"thirna"	ninana
Marganj	ŋaja	inda	ḍana	binda
Gunja	ŋaja	inda	ḍana	binda
Bidjara	ŋaja	inda	ḍana	binda
Kungkari	ŋaṇa/ŋaṭu	jina/jinti	ṭana	njina
Birria	ŋajawa	jinawa	ṭina-	jina-
Kalkatungu	ŋai/ŋaṭu	njini/njinti	naa, nanpinanpi	ŋaṭaṭati, ŋaṛaṭati
Waluwara	ŋaṇa	jipa	kari-	njina
Bulanu	ŋaṇa	jipa	kari-	jiwara
Wagaja	ŋunindj,-aṇ	jimb	girə-	juwərə
Andegerebina	ajiŋa/aṭa	aŋa/wunda	ni-	aṇi-

	lie,sleep	see	hear	smell(trans.)
Ngamani	para	mirka	ŋara	paṇima
Wangganguru	gudna-	ŋadji,gari-	ŋawi-	wara-
Waŋka-jutjuru	mutji-	ṭaḷa	ŋawi-	pukatji-
Pitta-Pitta	mutji-	ṭakume-, ŋatji-	paŋka-, ŋarawa-	warawa-
Mitaka	parri-	kali-	paŋki-	
Jawarawarka	(muka)parra, pada	wawa	ŋaŋa	paṇṭana
Jandruwanta	tura	wawa	ŋaŋa	paṇḍara
Punthamara	waka	natja	ŋaŋa	pupi
Badjiri	"wirkamani, bugarali"	yarka	"burrara"	"buddhara"(?)
Marganj	una	ŋa:	imba	ŋuḍa
Gunja	una	ŋaga	imba	muḍa
Bidjara	wuna,wudja	ŋaga		
Kungkari	ŋuna	ŋaka	ŋaŋka	ṇiṭa
Birria	ŋuna-			
Kalkatungu	nuu	nanji	jakapi	njilka
Waluwara	ŋunc	jaŋa	ḷaru-	jatjuna
Bulanu	ŋubari-	jaŋa	ḷari-	jadjima
Wagaja	ŋuna-	iŋa-	ḷara-	indjawa-
Andegerebina	iwu-	ara-	awu-	jindaŋa-

	eat	bite	speak	cry
Ngamani	taji	mata	jata	janra
Wanganguru	ḍaḍṇi-	buḍa	jani-	ḍudni-
Wangka-jutjuru	ṭatji-	patja	ṭaṛapari-	ṭunjtji-
Pitta-Pitta	ṭatji-	patja-	ṭarapali-	ṭunjtji-
Mitaka	taji-	maṭa	parriṇa-	juŋki-
Jawarawarka	taji	mata	ŋampa(ŋampa), janda	iŋki, iŋki
Jandruwanta	taji		ŋampa, janda	inki
Punthamara	talta	patja	janda	kaŋa
Badjiri	"thalle"	"thatthana"	"yanne"	"wanki"
Marganj	ḍala	baḍa	ŋaṇḍi	bari
Gunja	ḍala	baḍa	ŋaṇḍi	bati
Bidjara	juga	baḍa	ŋalga	bari
Kungkari	ṭari-, kari-(?)	patja	ṭinpu-	ṇiŋka
Birria		patja-	ṭapa-	
Kalkatungu	ai(li)	itjai	pati	luŋa
Waluwara	ṭaŋuṇa/ matja(ma)	ṭanma	tjaṇmari-	kaa
Bulanu	laruka/maḍa	taripa	jidjamari-	kaga
Wagaja	wuḍə-/ məṇḍə-	ḍiriba-	marə-	gəgə-
Andegerebina	aḷgu-	ka-	ŋga-	adnə-

	go	climb	fall	give	get
Ngamani	wapa	kati	duri, waratjari	ŋaŋki	mani
Wangganguru	juga-, wiḏuŋga-	wanga-	kara-, ŋalaba-	ŋuṉi	gamba-, mani-
Wangka-jutjuru	kaṇṭa	kaṭi-	kurra	ŋunjtji-	mari-
Pitta-Pitta	kaṇṭa	kaṭi-	kurra	ŋunjtji-	mari-
Mitaka	kidi-	kati-		muŋgi	mana
Jawarawarka	tawa	kati	waḻka	ŋunji	manrra
Jandruwanta	tawa	kari	waḻka	ŋunji	manrri
Punthamara	janta	ṭawi	puli	ŋutja	manda
Badjiri	bara	"kuttha"	"thirriki"	"yikkina"	"muka"
Marganj	waba	wanda	ḏaŋgi	wa	mara
Gunja	wadja	waga	banbu	wa	muga
Bidjara	wadja	waga	waḏa	gumba	maṛa
Kungkari	wapa			paŋa	maṉa
Birria	janda-			maŋaṉa(?)	
Kalkatungu	iŋka	juunti	ŋui	anji	manii, mu(n)mai
Waluwara	ṉanda, ṉata	jarya	japa	ŋuta	ṉaŋa
Bulanu	paga	jaka	japa	ŋuda	ṉaŋa
Wagaja	bəŋgə-	irkə-	inbə-	ŋundə-	ṉəŋə
Andegerebina	ḻə-	ŋanə-	uṉḏə-	ṉḏa-	jinbi-

	put down	burn(intr.)	cut	hit(with hand)
Ngamani	kurruŋari	jarki	dama	tanrra
Wangganguru	gudni-			biḍa-
Wangka-jutjuru	kuri-	janti-	puṇṭa	piṭa
Pitta-Pitta	kuri-	paṛatji-	kuṛikuṛi-	piṭi-
Mitaka				panrri-
Jawarawarka	kurra	mukatji, pi(d)ri		panrri
Jandruwanta	kura(paṇḍi)	ŋatji	mulpa	panrri
Punthamara	kutja	pupa,marri	kaka	kalka
Badjiri	"kamunna"	"thambi"(?)		"ngurlpana"
Marganj	iḍa	mandi	babi	balga
Gunja		guba		guni
Bidjara		ŋaṇḍa	babi	guni
Kungkari				wuriṭi
Birria				pala-
Kalkatungu	makaṭaṭa,aṭa	kuraliaṛ	ṭuai	ḷai
Waluwara	ŋalaŋa	jallari-	ṇakara	maṭa
Bulanu	ŋalaŋa	jidjili-	nagara	maḍa
Wagaja	ŋila-	waluwa-	ṇiŋgirə-	ma:-
Andegerebina	ariŋi-	mba-	ka-	atu-

APPENDIX 2

The Classification of Janda.

The table on the following pages gives a comparison of the data on Janda with the equivalent items for several neighbouring languages and one located some distance away. The neighbouring languages are Jalanga, Wanamara - located to the north and not in the area covered by this work, but included here for the sake of completeness - Goa and Pitta-Pitta. The other language is Kungkari, which is separated from Janda by over two hundred miles of country formerly inhabited by the Maiawali. Languages immediately adjacent to Janda which are not included are Kalkatungu, Maiawali and Ringa-Ringa. The last two are very similar to Pitta-Pitta while Kalkatungu is related to Jalanga but clearly shares less vocabulary with Janda than does Jalanga.

The arrangement of the data is as follows: the left hand column gives the English words, then follow, to the right, the Janda words as written in the original source, the Janda words in a suggested approximation to their phonetic form (this column is not complete), then the lists for the other five languages. The words in these columns are given in broad phonetic notation, or in a suggested approximation to their phonetic form, or as spelt in the early word-list. In the last case the word is given in inverted commas, e.g. "yapperli" (which might be [japiɻi] or [japaɻi] or something else). After each word in each of these last five columns is written Y , meaning yes , i.e. the word is apparently cognate with the corresponding Janda word, N , meaning no , it is not cognate, or 1/2 , meaning one of the alternative words given is cognate with the Janda word. (Y) means that it has been decided to

regard the items as cognate for reasons that will be explained at a later stage.

The Wanamara sources used are Curr (word-list by A.Mac-Gillivray Vol. II pp 340-5) and Roth.

The Janda words given here are all of those available except the following:

yungunna, 'old woman', same as the word for 'mother';
bercamo, 'black duck', same as the word for 'turkey';
tina, 'track of a foot', same as the word for 'foot';
tooro, 'yesterday', same as the word for 'sun' and 'light';
bipaparro, 'spear', same as the wordfor 'boomerang';
ecarra, 'four', same as the word for 'plenty';
ruto, 'three', regarded as doubtful by Curr or Eglinton;
chiki-chiko, 'fly', is a common word for 'maggot' and so is regarded as doubtful;
kowitchi, 'kookaburra' - no equivalents are given in any of the other lists;
gungi, goongia, 'white man' - not suitable as it is a new item in the language.

The item karti, 'meat' is not in the list, but it forms part of the word given for 'eat' - kartitingia and is probably the widespread word kaṭi. It is common in the Mari languages for the words 'to eat' and 'to drink' to be the same, and in this list we have tingia forming part of the former and tingya forming part of the latter. The other part of the item 'drink' may be the word for 'plenty'. tingia and tingya may both be [tiŋ(g)aja] with the -ja possibly an inflectional suffix.

In each of the first five cases above, the choice has been made of the alternative suggested by a comparison with other languages, e.g. jaŋa- is a widespread word for 'mother'.

	Janda	Jalanga	Wanamara
man	warriki	iri N	ŋagur,"bungil" N
woman	wongita waŋita	minmiri N	banja N
old man	kuntanna kantana	kupa N	mua N
baby	karrinuna	pilapila,kaja N	kataka N
children	kardago	tjura N	katakara Y
father	koopon kupan	kalu (Y)	jadu N
mother	yunganna jaŋana	manu N	mira(ku)
elder brother	kardunna		jaba N
elder sister	karginna kagina		muṇa N
younger brother	tita		buga N
wife	natianna		
ghost	bikerri		
head	mureda	mula Y	kanda,nagul N
hair of head	bungu bunjdju	warpanturu N	kanda,wuɣambu N
eye	meal mi:l	mili Y	mil,"uko or yenko" 1/2
ear	talgan	pinari N	bina N
nose	tirki or tuki(?)	itji N	ŋuru,naika N
mouth	tya ṭaja	ṭani N(?)	ŋaga,ṭaŋ(g)ula N
tongue	tyela ṭali...(?)	"mileri" N	ŋalandi N
teeth	ira	irali Y	jardida N
beard	talbarri	talbarri Y	maŋgura N
hand	murra maṛa	mara Y	mala,mambila 1/2
breast	beriko	ŋama,mimi N	ŋamagura,tampo N
stomach	booroo buru	putu Y	wabagu N
excrement	koona kuna	kuna,wuna Y	kuna,"noointo"1/2
thigh	tara ṭara	"yapperli" N	
calf	eulo julu		(muku:shin)
foot	tina ṭina	ṭina Y	tina Y

Goa	Kungkari	Pitta-Pitta
kantu N	kapu N	kaɳa,palku N
paɲja N	kuṉpil N	paratja,waɳata 1/2
kajara N		kupakupa N
milamila,paɲ(k)unaja N	waḻpaṛa N	ṭakuku N
kupa Y	kuḻanj Y	japiṛi N
jaɳa Y	ɳamanja N	ɳamaṛi N
	japanja N	ṭiṭi N
	kaminja Y	jaku (Y)
		waɳi,kupaṛi N
	jarkuliŋa N	ɲupu N
		jarkumaṭa N
kaṭa N	pumpa N	kaṭi N
punjtju +3 1/2	punjtju Y	kuniṛi N
ṭili N	mi:l Y	mii Y
maɳa N	maɳa N	ɳara N
ɳiɳu N	miŋku N	milja N
ṭawa Y	ṭaja Y	paḻa N
ṭalanja Y	ṭalanj Y	ṭaḻi Y
ira Y	ṛiṛa Y	miḻka N
ŋanka N	ŋanka N	ŋanka N
maṛa Y	maṛa Y	maṛa Y
tampu,ŋamina N		kaputju N
matja N	ŋajimaḻa N	ṭuṉṭu N
kuna Y		kuna Y
ṭara Y	muṭa N	kala,maḻa N
(muku)	(punkuḻ:shin ?)	(piɲa:shin ?)
ṭina Y	ṭina Y	ṭina Y

	Janda	Jalanga	Wanamara
bone	bunda	ṭuka N	timal,mukunj N
blood	karruga	kur.ru N	gwaru,matjaŋu 1/2
fat	mulki njilki(?)	njilki Y	"karning" N
skin	binmin	waku,mapira N	pia N
hungry	goongindia	ŋamatjia N	"bulningo" N
thirsty	mundia	pujuja N	"yoorpingo" N
dead	pullaurga	ulaŋa- Y	mutjunj N
kangaroo	matumba matjumba	waluwajaŋu N	"mongorongo"N
possum	mangera maŋara	mitjiri N	kakunj N
dog	mikamo	maŋuru N	jambi N
egg	kudo	kaku N	wiri N
emu	kookaburri kulbari(?)	wamakuṭu N	tjaŋgupari N
brolga	booralga buralga	puralku Y	"turka" N
pelican	umbleterri	"koobenroo" N	
eaglehawk	gooradilli guraḍili	"mooneroonalergree" N	kuridala Y
plain turkey	berkamno	tukana,palkamu 1/2	barkam Y
crow	wokkola wakala	wakala Y	wakaran,"wamering"Y
snake	goondaro gundara	wamari N	djanjur N
fish	wokarri wakari	kupi,"eremerdo" N	palpi N
crayfish	toomban	kundatji N	"pikŋual" N
mosquito	moonya	mikara N	migia,"lewouin" N
wood	bunda banda	tuka N	bakaru Y
bark	tirki-tirki	kulkapara N	bila N
grass	bookurra bukara	kukapi N	punjdjul,kaṭa N
sun	tooro ṭuru	mia N	kamba N
moon	multchi ŋaljtji	tjipa N	kakara,"kurno-kurno" N
star	markatto	tjilka,puturuŋu N	juku N
light	tooro ṭuru	"ninermoo" N	"tennouil" N
dark	winta	waṭa N	"wokkomungo" N

Goa	Kungkari	Pitta-Pitta
tula,muku N		piṇa N
kuaru,ŋurki 1/2		kimpa N
ṭuṭa,ṭami N		ṭuṭa N
pinkanja N		ṇala N
kanula N		ŋamaltjala N
kuŋkintaŋa N	kuŋkipaŋa N	pulila N
ṭiliŋari N	katjamaṇi N	itjika N
matjampa Y	kuḷa N	kulipila N
maŋara, ṭaŋaru 1/2		ṭinapali N
mikamu Y	kurṭa N	piawaḷi N
kutu Y	kukaṛi N	pampu N
kulpari Y	kulpari Y	warukatji, kulpari 1/2
pilpaŋata, kulturu,kutumpa N	kuḷṭuru N	puralku Y
wuwandju,walkipari N	ṭaṭa N	maḷimaru N
wutapara,ulupari N	kuṛiṭala Y	kuriṭala Y
	puŋkanj Y(?)	kalaṭura N
wakana N		wakiṛi Y
kundara Y	kundara Y(?)	kaṭi,wama N
wakari +3 1/2	kuja N	kupi N
	ṭumpaŋ Y	ṭuṇanjtji, kuntatji N
kundi N	ŋaka N	kuṇṭi,murulka N
ṭala N	paka,ṭuluma 1/2	murra N
kulkupara N		ṇala N
jaku N		pukara Y
ṭuru,"ringuna" 1/2	murri N	waḷka N
raŋi,ŋaljtji 1/2	ŋaljtji Y	tjipa,jaŋi N
	kulaṛu N	tjinpi N
ṭuru,pia 1/2		waḷka N
ŋua,winta 1/2		jumulu N

	Janda	Jalanga	Wanamara
day	narthanya		
night	winta	waṯa N	kabidji N
wind	wipar	unaŋu N	kapin N
thunder	ooraturri	ruŋuḻa N	janbari N
ground	marban	mutu,maljitja 1/2	"mukkeo" N
stone	goongo guŋgu	pitjulu,mukulu N	bugil,"orringe" N
water	karko kaku	kunu N	kunu,japu N
camp	marrpan	mutu N	"mukkeo" N
fire	eula juḻa	watjani N	paju,jaŋ(g)u N
smoke	toorko tuku	kutu Y(?)	"yonbulko" N
meat	karti(?) kaṯi	wari N	
food	workia	maṇṯa,"nerilin" N	
milk	tambo	ŋama Y	tampo Y
boomerang	bepaparo bipa-paru	paiala N	blidaru,jalkapari N
shield	goonburra gunbara	kultu N	kunbara Y
tomahawk	warrambuda	warampaṯa Y	maria N
today	kiya kaja	iḻali N	"wowyal" N
by-and-by	wichunga	kaḍi,ṯatinina N	"warla" N
good	kamundiri	janpamu N	manju,"kammanurro"
bad	karlokoto	ṉakati N	madi N 1/2
big	beali piali	jaṉu N	mardu N
small	nekowla	palulu N	tjalu,"kurpia"N
hot,heat	ringan	maka,"umergin"N	
cold	kitcha	maṯana N	
one	gooniba	ŋururu N	kurunj,inir N
two	boolari bulaṛi	katjimpa N	kurtu N
many,plenty	ekari ikari	ikata Y	paŋgu,"nurlo-nurlo"N
where?	wonarkika	ṯari- N	wondo Y(?)

Goa	Kungkari	Pitta-Pitta
ṭuru N		
winta Y		waḷka N
malpuṇa N		jumulu N
wanti,jampiri N	pukaru N	ṭurupu N
jamba N	ṭaṇa N	pilpa,muŋkaja N
kuŋku Y	kaṛanj N	maji N
kamu Y	kaku Y	ṭipu,mirriwiṇi N
jamba N	ŋura N	ŋapu N
(j)uḷa Y	(j)uḷa Y	ŋura N
maju,jankaka,jumaru N	muju N	maka N
	kaṭi Y	kuṭu Y(?)
kuŋa N	ṭakanj,maji N	kati Y
kuŋa N		jaṇṭuru,maṇṭa N
kulka N		ḳaputju N
	paṭupaṭu N	tjira,pipapuru 1/2
kunpara Y	ṭumpurru N	
wilara N	palunj N	kunpara Y
pariŋu,kajimba 1/2	kajali Y	waramaṭa Y
		kaṛi N (?)
manju,kuntjaŋaja N	paḷa Y(?)	kaṇa N
wuritu,paŋaraŋu,warakatu N	wilta N	kujuŋu,majali N
piala Y	walku N	maṇa N
nuwulja,niawulja N	wiṇanj N	wima N
ŋalkuriŋa (1/2)	maṇṭa N	ṭujuju N
milinju,muara,wiliŋa N		makamaka N
kurunju N		maḷi
(j)ura N	pulaṛi Y	ŋuṛuṛu N
tuŋa N		parkula N
		parri N
	ṭaltu- N	wiṇṭa N

	Janda	Jalanga	Wanamara
I	anga ŋanjdja	ŋia/ŋaṯu Y	"nigo" (Y)
you	imba inba	ṉawa/ṉuṯu N	jundu N
yes	eallamarra ija lamara	lamara Y	nia Y(?)
no	wantitala	kuntupa N	nambi N
sit	ninaninga nina-	ṉina- Y	"yennia" N
sleep	mutchelinya mutji-	ŋuna- N	"wongelgee" N
see	bingininga	nanji N	"nungamma" N
eat	kartitingia tiŋ(g)a-(?)	ŋarili N	"batalpo" N
drink	ekarratingya tiŋ(g)a-(?)	ṯukali N	"batalgee" N
walk	yannaninga jana-	ŋaṉa Y(?)	"wapingo" N
come on	towari eninga tawari jana-	"kowa gernaberdi" Y	"kooyan" N (?)
I don't know	narrimo	"neer mooloonabanalli" N	"nee kol" N

Goa	Kungkari	Pitta-Pitta
ŋaja Y	ŋaɳa/ŋaʈu Y	ŋanjtja/ŋaʈu Y
intu,janu N	jina/jinti Y	inpa/intu Y
naja N	ŋa(u) N	kau N
kara N	wala N	maḷu N
wanta-,waŋ(k)a- N	njina- Y	ɳaŋka- N
wuna- N	ŋuna- N	mutji- Y
ɳaka- N	ɳaka- N	ʈakuma-,ɳatji- N
mina,ultaŋa N	ʈari- N	ʈatji- N
tarka,untaŋa N	kanjtja-,ʈarikaɳʈa- N	ʈima- Y
jana- Y	wapa- N	kaɳʈa- N
kawi Y		kawa Y
		kaḷi N

The following items, marked (Y) above, require explanation:

father - kalu is marked as cognate with kupan because both are probably cognate with Kalkatungu kula;

elder sister - jaku cognate with kakina because both are cognate with Ringa-Ringa kaku;

milk - the Janda word corresponds with one of the two Goa words given for 'breast'; these two items are the same in many languages;

hot, heat - the Janda word corresponds to one of the two Goa words given for 'sun';

I - the Wanamara word written "nigo" may be [ŋatju].

Of the cases in which (?) follows Y or N, one seems to require explanation; the word given for 'snake', kundara, in Kungkari, may be a name for a species of snake rather than a general term for snake.

The counts are shown in Table II

Table II

Cognate counts: Janda with other languages

	Y	N	1/2	% cognate
Jalanga	21	67	2	24
Wanamara	11	71	5	16
Goa	23	49	11	34
Kungkari	24	44	1	36
Pitta-Pitta	19	72	3	22

Since there is only one brief word-list available for Janda, it is reasonable (see the discussion in section 2 above) to count 1/2 as Y. This makes little difference in most cases, but does increase the Goa figure to 41%.

Perhaps the most interesting point in these figures is the high cognate count for Janda with a fairly distant language, Kungkari. The two high cognate counts are with Goa, a member of the Mari Sub-Group, and Kungkari, a member of the Kapu Sub-Group, both of which belong to the Pama-Maric Group. The most distantly related seems to be Wanamara, which is classified by O'Grady et al as a member of the Mayapic Group.

Having established (though probably not unchallengeably) Janda as belonging to the Pama-Maric Group rather than the Kalkatungic, Mayapic or Karnic, we can now adjust the cognate counts for probable borrowings. If a word is found in the same or almost the same form in two languages which are close geographically but not closely related linguistically, it is assumed to have been borrowed by one or the other unless its distribution is such that it could be expected to occur in both. Also, if a word is found in the same or almost the same form in two closely related languages, but the relationship between its phonetic form in the two languages is contrary to a known rule of phonetic change for the two languages, it is assumed to be borrowed. Since we do not know any rules of phonetic change for Janda, the latter condition does not apply.

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In many cases we can be reasonably sure of the direction of the borrowing. Thus the word puralku, or sometimes a slightly different form, meaning 'brolga', is found throughout most of the sub-groups of the Karnic Group, and also in the several individual languages bordering on this group, such as Andegerebina (but not Jaroinga), Waluwara (but not other languages of the Wakayic Group), Jalanga (but not Kalkatungu) and Janda. Clearly, these four languages (as well as English) have borrowed it. In other cases we cannot tell the direction of borrowing; e.g. both Janda and Jalanga have talbarri, 'beard'. It is very likely that one borrowed it from the other (even if it is cognate with Waluwara ṭawuṛunu) but there is no indication of which way it went.

Examples of words which are found in distantly related languages, but are so widespread that they cannot be regarded as borrowings, are (one form only of each is given) ṭina, 'foot', and maṛa, 'hand'. These are found throughout the Pama-Maric and Karnic Groups. However, they may have been borrowed by Jalanga, as Kalkatungu does not have them, or has them in a considerably changed form (ṭapantu and makati).

The following borrowings and probable borrowings affect the cognate counts for Janda:

waŋata, 'woman', possibly borrowed by Pitta-Pitta; it is not known to the present day Pitta-Pitta informant;

kataka, 'child', borrowed by Janda or Wanamara;

talbarri, 'beard', discussed above;

buru, 'stomach', probably borrowed by Janda;

matjumpa, 'kangaroo', known in some Palku Sub-Group dialects, Goa, Iningai (Mari Sub-Group), Kalkatungu and

Maithakudi (Mayapic Group) as well as Janda and possibly other languages. It may have come from Kalkatungu or the Mayapic Group;

kulpari, 'emu', is widespread in the Pama-Maric Group and probably borrowed by Pitta-Pitta, although it is also found in several other Karnic languages;

kuriṯala, 'eaglehawk'; the same remarks apply as for kulpari, 'emu';

parkam, 'plain turkey', has a similar distribution to matjumpa, 'kangaroo', and may have the same origin;

wakari, 'fish' is found in Kalkatungu and Maiawali as well as Janda and Goa. It would certainly have been borrowed by Maiawali, and may have originated in the Kalkatungic Group, as it does not appear in other Pama-Maric languages;

bukara, 'grass', was probably borrowed by Janda from the Palku Sub-Group;

kaṯi, 'meat', is widespread in the Karnic Group and would have been borrowed by Janda and Kungkari;

bipaparu, 'boomerang', is found in Birria (Kapu Sub-Group) and three Palku Sub-Group dialects and was most likely borrowed by the latter;

kunpara, 'shield', is found throughout the Palku Sub-Group and in Mitaka, and was probably borrowed by Janda and Goa;

warampaṯa, 'tomahawk', has a similar distribution to wakari, 'fish', and may have the same origin;

ikari, 'many', is found only in Janda and Jalanga and was probably borrowed by one of them;

ŋanjtja, 'I', and inba, 'you', are typical Palku Sub-Group pronouns and were probably borrowed by Janda. This applies also to mutji-, 'to sleep'.

The revised cognate counts are shown in Table 12.

Table 12

Revised cognate counts: Janda with other languages.

	Y	N	% cognate
Jalanga	17	73	19
Wanamara	13	74	15
Goa	31	52	37
Kungkari	24	45	35
Pitta-Pitta	11	83	12

It is unfortunate that there is no possibility of adequately comparing Janda morphology with that of other languages. The existence of a few suffixes can be deduced tentatively from the word-list:

a suffix -na on relationship terms;

a locative (at least as regards time) suffix -ŋa or -ŋga which seems to have correspondences in Goa (-ŋa or -ŋga), Kungkari (-ŋa), Bidjara (-ŋa), Marganj (-ŋga) and Gunja (ŋga). The last three are Mari Sub-Group languages;

a verbal suffix -ja which might correspond with the Pitta-Pitta present tense -ja or with a verbal suffix of the same form in Goa;

a verbal suffix -niŋa or -niŋga which could correspond to -liŋa in the Palku Sub-Group, ŋa in Goa, -riŋga in Kungkari or -ŋa, niŋu(?) or -naŋa in Bidjara;

a verbal suffix -linja which may correspond to Palku -liŋa.

The item kartitingia suggests that there may be no accusative suffix; this could link Janda with the Pama-Maric Group. The pronouns, of course, which - like bound

morphemes - are rarely borrowed, suggest a link with the Palku Sub-Group. However, the overall weight of evidence still favours Janda's classification as part of the Pama-Maric Group.

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